

A COMMENTARY
ON THE
SIXTH SATIRE OF JUVENAL

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1972

Foreword

I have used for this commentary W.V. Clausen's Oxford Classical Text (1966), and that text will you find set out at the beginning of each section of the commentary. Where I disagree with Clausen, this is apparent in the commentary.

I have listed at the end all the works cited, adding where necessary a number in brackets to identify the particular work of an author more than one of whose works have been used.

More works have been used than are listed, which may betoken ingratitude. To the authors cited also my debt is often greater than may appear from my words. I have done my best to acknowledge ideas and solutions I have adopted from the works of other scholars. I am aware, however, that I may have reached independently or unconsciously adopted views which have appeared in print before. In the elucidation of the Q fragment especially I may owe more to others than I acknowledge in the commentary: Housman's contribution in this matter remains capital, and if my commentary does not bring this out sufficiently, let me acknowledge my debt here.

Two very small portions of the commentary are written in French to afford a short, pleasant, and much needed rest in the midst of the surrounding Englishness.

Chiefly, I have to thank Professor David West who encouraged, criticized, and encouraged while he criticized; and next Professor I.M. Campbell who shared with Professor West the task of supervision; and all the teachers and students in the departments of Classics of this University who made the atmosphere in which this work grew; Mr. R.M. Pinkerton especially for reading the

typescript; and last Mrs. M.I. Macnamara, for expending attention and care far beyond the call of duty on typing the commentary, while protesting its obscenity.

Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam	1
in terris uisamque diu,	2

Juvenal sets the tone in the very first line: it is the tone of irony, and the irony is directed not at women, against whom the satire is nominally directed, but at grand themes, moral myths, and epic commonplaces.

The first line is on the V A B B A pattern (for which see Appendix IA), which Juvenal uses commonly to debunk epic themes: the epic theme being debunked here is that of the Golden Age, when Chastity (and Justice) lived on earth amongst mortals, a theme exploited by Hesiod, Works and Days, 110-201; Ovid, Met. 1.89-150; Aratus, Phain. 96ff. The satirical tradition was always an anti-epic one, as Juvenal himself asserts in his first and programmatic satire. It always dealt with every-day life, despising the unreal and the fanciful on which epic thrives. When Juvenal starts off his satire with a reference in a grand verse to a fanciful epic theme, we can be sure that he is being ironical. The statement of faith in the first word, credo, is the equivalent of non credo, and the rest of the passage will establish beyond doubt that this is a burlesque of the Golden Age.

We can see this immediately in the treatment of Pudicitia. This personified Virtue is mocked. We are told that she delayed and was seen on earth for a long time (in terris and diu qualifying both moratam and visamque). By saying that she 'delayed' on earth for a long time, Juvenal uses language commonly applied to mortals who seem to be taking a long time to die. Cf. Cic. Rep. 6.15:

Atque ego ut primum fletu represso loqui posse coepi, 'quaeso'
inquam 'pater sanctissime atque optume, quoniam haec est vita ut

Africanum audio dicere, quid moror in terris? quin huc ad vos
venire propero?'

Petronius, 115:

tamquam intersit, perituum corpus quae ratio consumat,
ignis an fluctus an mora.

Petronius, 134:

nec minus illa fletu confusa altera parte lectuli sedit
aetatisque longae moram tremulis vocibus coepit accusare.

Hor. O. 1.20. 1-4:

non usitata nec tenui ferar
penna biformis per liquidum aethera
vates, neque in terris morabor
longius ...

Suet. Nero. 33:

Certe omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum [Claudium]
insectatus est, modo stultitiae modo saevitiae arguens; nam et
morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur.

Catullus, 52.1:

Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?

This idea, that Pudicitia stayed on earth until she was quite old, will
be picked up in vv. 14-15, when Juvenal returns to her and treats her
as an old woman. (See Commentary there.)

Why the detail visam? One reason is that this insistence on
detail fits in with the spirit of burlesque, the essence of which is to
reduce gods to human stature. Another reason is that Juvenal is
referring humorously to Virgil's 4th eclogue, which foretells the return
of Virgo (this is Justice, it is true, not Pudicitia; but the
substitution is of little importance), and of the Golden Age. Cf.

V. E. 4.6, 13, 15-17:

iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna

... si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri

(Cf. J. 6. 14-5)

.....

ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit

permixtos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis

pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

In Virgil, the fact that he sees and is seen by the gods elevates Octavian to their stature. In Juvenal, it reduces Pudicitia to human level.

cum frigida paruas	2
praeberet spelunca domos ignemque laremque	3

Juvenal continues his burlesque on the Golden Age theme by adding to what started as a description of the ideal Golden Age of the world details belonging to another tradition of primitivism, according to which life before civilization was hard and brutish; men then lived in caves like wild beasts, and in fear of wild beasts. References to this tradition of realistic primitivism are to be found in Diodorus Siculus 1.8; Horace, S.1.3.99-106; but the longest and most famous, which Juvenal (as we shall see **further down**) had in mind is in Lucretius 5.925-1010. By introducing details from the realistic tradition of primitivism into the idealized primitivism of the Golden Age Juvenal makes fun of both themes.

The frigida spelunca is the first detail borrowed from the realistic primitivism. It appears in Lucretius in a description of the nastiness of human life before civilization. Lucr. 5.955-6:

sed nemora atque cavos montis silvasque colebant,
et frutices inter condebant squalida membra.

The reader will see that this habitation which appears at the first level of meaning in Juvenal as an ideal habitation in an ideal age appears at a deeper level as the exact opposite. So much for the idealization of the Golden Age of Pudicitia.

We shall see on p. ¹¹ that frigida spelunca also operates on another level of meaning as part of the idealization of Rustic Life.

There should be a comma after laremque to indicate that ignemque laremque should be taken closely with domos as part of one picture and theme; focus and lar are an integral part of the 'small home' theme, as we shall see below. We can imagine the satirist's voice pausing

after domos, and then carrying on, the pause stressing the mockery involved in the presence of lar and focus in primitive man's cave; for the listener will realize now that with parvas domos and ignemque laremque Juvenal has moved on to another theme, that of the idealized frugal Rustic Life: the Roman house was originally a simple habitation with only one important room, the atrium, in which were to be found the lares, the focus, and in which the family spent most of their domestic life: the food was cooked and served there, in the presence of the lares, and family life centred round the focus. Then, as the material civilization of Rome developed, helped by increased contact with foreign nations, particularly Greece, the plan of the Roman house changed and the Romans began to build their houses according to Greek house-plans. See Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. domus. Roman writers idealizing the rustic life in earnest or in mockery, whether as opposed to town-life in their own time, or as part of the theme of the 'good old days' of sturdy peasants of the Cincinnatus type - the two themes being, of course, closely connected (see Columella 1. Preface, 13-19; Varro, R.R. 2.1.1-3; V. G. 2.533) - often refer to the home-life around lares and focus as a symbol of this happy rustic life. They may also have been influenced to pick on these particular details by the knowledge that while their house-plan had been greatly influenced by the Greeks, the atrium was properly Roman. Cf. Vitruvius, 6.7.1:

Atriis Graeci quia non utuntur neque aedificant ...

I quote Cato, Horace, Ovid, Pliny, Martial, and parallels from Juvenal to illustrate the point:

Servius ad V. A. 1.726:

nam ut ait Cato et in atrio et duobus ferculis
epulabantur antiqui: ... ibi et culina erat.

Horace, Epodes, 2:

sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum 43

lassi sub adventum viri ...

positosque vernas, ditis examen domus 65

circum renidentis Lares.

Epistles, 1.5.7, where Horace is inviting Torquatus to

his humble house:

iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex

S. 2.6.65:

o noctes cenaeque deum! quibus ipse meique

ante Larem proprium vescor,

O. 1.4.3:

ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni.

O. 1.9.5-6, set in the country, (see West, Reading Horace,

pp. 4-6):

dissolve frigus ligna super foco

large reponens ...

O. 3.29.14-5, urging Maecenas to leave his own sumptuous

dwelling to come to:

mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum

cenae ...

Ovid, M.F.F. 11-16:

forsitan antiquae Tatio sub rege Sabinae

maluerint quam se rura paterna coli,

cum matrona premens altum rubicunda sedile

assiduo durum pollice nebat opus

ipsaque claudebat quos filia paverat agnos,

ipsa dabat virgas caesaque ligna foco;

Pliny NH. 36.111:

nimirum sic habitaverant illi qui hoc imperium
fecere tantum, ad devincendas gentes triumphosque
referendos ab aratro aut foco exeuntes, quorum agri
quoque minorem modum optinuere quam sellaria istorum.

Martial, 1.49.27:

vicina in ipsum silva descendet focum
infante cinctum sordido ...

1.55:

hoc petit esse sui nec magni ruris arator ...	3
cui licet exuviis nemoris rurisque beato	7
ante focum plenas explicuisse plagas.	8

2.90. 5-8:

differat hoc patrios optat qui vincere census
atriaue immodicis artat imaginibus.
me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos
tectata iuvant ...

3.58. 22-3:

cingunt serenum lactei focum verna
et larga festos lucet ad lares silva

Juvenal, 11. 77-79:

haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
cena fuit. Curius parvo quae legerat horto
ipse focis brevibus ponebat holuscula

The elements of the literary topos of the simple life have no place in the kind of Golden Age Juvenal is allegedly describing. The link between the two themes is that both are literary views of an imaginary and idyllic 'happy life'. Juvenal's aim in fusing those

two worlds is to amuse the learned listener and make fun of both literary commonplaces. Added depth is given to the humour by putting into this one picture elements belonging to different stages of 'Lucretian' primitivism. In Lucretius, while man lived in a cave, he did not have fire. See L. 5.953; when he has discovered fire, he lives in a casa (L. 5.1011). In Juvenal, primitive man is still living in a cave; but the cave is a parva domus, and has its focus!

Juvenal has by now combined for humorous effect three incongruous literary views of the 'old days': (1) the idealized Golden Age; (2) the realistic primitive life; (3) ante- and anti-urbanization Rustic life.

For parvas domos as an element of the 'good old days' of Rustic Rome, cf. 6.288-9.

et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra. 4

We saw that Juvenal playfully equated the cave-dwellings of primitive man with the humble dwellings of the idealized rustic by introducing into primitive man's cave lares and focus. In placing pecus with dominos together in this same cave, he is continuing the same theme.

It had become fashionable for rich men with little or no interest in farming and husbandry to have sumptuous villas in the country. See Varro, R.R. 1.13.6:

Fructuosior est certe fundus propter aedificia, si potius ad
anticorum diligentiam quam ad horum luxuriam derigas aedificationem.
Illi enim faciebant ad fructum rationem, hi faciunt ad libidines
indomitas. Itaque illorum villae rusticae erant maioris preti
quam urbanae, quae nunc sunt pleraque contra ...

This contrast between real country life and the life of the rich and fashionable dilettante in the country is expressed by Horace, O. 2.15:

iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
moles relinquent, undique latius
extenta visentur Lucrino
stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
evincet ulmos;
.
non ita Romuli
praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
auspiciis veterumque norma.

It is repeated nearer Juvenal's time, and in a more light-hearted manner, by Martial, 3.58, 3.47. In all those passages, the contrast is explicit; it is implicit in Horace, Epist. 1.16; to prevent Quinctius

from asking him questions which might prove too strictly agricultural, Horace forestalls all questioning by replying in urbane and vague terms, in a few words, and then launching into a homily on Stoic themes like a town-bred littérateur. But while Horace thus laughs at himself, the usurer Alfius (H. Epodes, 2) fancies himself as a real farmer; and Ovid, Amores, 2.16; Tibullus, 1.1; 1.5; fancy themselves really working on a farm!

If we now look at the texts of Varro, Columella, Vitruvius, Palladius, we find that, on a farm, the quarters of the rich land-owners - villa urbana - were separate from those of the farmers - villa rustica - that the cattle stalls were close to the culina, and that it was considered a good thing if the cattle in their stalls could have a view of the focus.

Varro, R.R. 1.13.1:

In villa facienda stabula ita ut bubilia sint ibi, hieme quae possint esse caldiora ... In primis culina videnda ut sit admota quod ibi hieme antelucanis temporibus aliquot res conficiuntur, cibus paratur ac capitur.

Vitruvius, 6.6.1:

In chorte culina quam calidissimo loco designetur. Coniuncta tamen habeat bubilia, quorum praeseptia ad focum et orientis caeli regionem spectent, ...

Columella, 1.6:

3. at in rustica parte magna et alta culina ponetur ut et contignatio careat incendii periculo et in ea commode familiares omni tempore morari queant ... 8. bubulcis pastoribusque cellae ponantur iuxta sua pecora ut ad eorum curam sit opportunus excursus ...

Palladius, 1.21:

Boves nitidiores fient si focum proxime habeant et
ignis lumen intendant.

See also White, p. 418; p. 423, fig. 5; p. 424.

We can now see that Juvenal is making fun of the counterfeit rusticity of literary commonplaces by combining such commonplaces here with realistic details from farm-life. He gives us an ironical picture of the unpleasantness of real rustic life while pretending that he is giving us an ideal picture: on the surface, since this is all happening in the Golden Age, this is an ideal picture of life; but we do not need to go very far below the surface to find the irony. We find then men and cattle living together in front of lares and focus in the atrium of an 'idealized' country-house. And all this, of course, is taking place during the mythical Golden Age!

Keeping in mind that Juvenal has introduced us to the delights of country-life, we notice that the words frigida, spelunca, umbra, refer to common features in literary descriptions of country pleasures.

Horace, Epist. 1.16:

continui montes, ni dissociantur <u>opaca</u>	5
valle	
. si quercus et illex	
multa fruge pecus multa dominum iuvet <u>umbra</u> ?	10
.	
fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec	12
<u>frigidior</u> Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus	

V.E. 5. 4-7:

tu maior; tibi me est aequum parere, Menalca,
sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras,
sive antro potius succedimus aspice, ut antrum
silvestris raris sparsit labrusca racemis.

V.G. 2.469-474:

speluncae, vivique lacus, et frigida Tempe,
mugitusque hominum, mollesque sub arbore somni
non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
sacra deum, sanctique patres; extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

I quote this passage at length because it touches my argument at more points than the immediately relevant one. It is a description of Ideal Rusticity, with Golden Age touches.

V.G. 3.143-5:

saltibus in vacuis pascunt et plena secundum
flumina, muscus ubi et viridissima gramine ripa,
speluncaeque tegant et saxea procubet umbra.

331-4:

aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem,
sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus
ingentes tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum
illicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra.

Copa:

sunt topia et calybae, cyathi, rosa, tibia, chordae,
et triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus. 8

en et Maenalia quae garrit dulce sub antro
rustica pastoris fistula more sonat.

.....

nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae 27
nunc vepris in gelida sede lacerta latet.

The coolness, the cavern and the shade, which play an idyllic part in descriptions of country delights, are made to play here a very

different role, in an ironical description of such delights. Juvenal has derisively combined in one picture traditional features of indoor and out-of-doors Idealized Rusticity. The combination amounts to something less than pleasant. The cold cavern here is no bucolic cool grotto, and the umbra is not the pleasant shade in which one takes refuge from the heat of the sun: umbra here is to be examined in the context of the atrium. An opening in the roof of the atrium let out the smoke from the focus; nonetheless, smoke must have been a nuisance. We do not hear about it in the 'idealizing' authors, but see:

Horace, S. 1.5. 79-80:

nisi nos vicina Trivici

villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo.

Ovid, Met. 8.647-8, in the humble house of Philemon and Baucis:

furca levat ille bicorni

sordida terga suis nigro pendentia tigno ...

Ovid, Fasti. 5.505-8:

tecta senis subeunt nigro deformia fumo;

ignis in hesterno stipite parvus erat.

ipse genu nixus flammis exsuscitat aura

et promit quassas comminuitque faces.

Martial, 2.90.7:

me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos

tecta iuvant ...

Servius, ad V. A. 1.726:

Atria ... nam ut ait Cato et in atrio et duobus

ferculis epulabantur antiqui ... ibi et culina

erat: unde et atrium dictum est; atrum enim

erat ex fumo.

As the atrium here is a cavern, containing fire, men, and beasts, there would be even more gloom in it than in the usual small-house atrium. To the reader who has followed Juvenal, each word in communi clauderet umbra has a fully felt pejorative force. The Golden Age becomes less ideal with every word.

siluestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor	5
frondibus et culmo	6

We note first that line 5, like line 1, is on the V A B B A pattern, a sign of mock-grandeur in Juvenal. See Appendix IA, example 65.

Reference has been made to three passages where the Rustic Life of the Old Days is idealized: Columella 1. Preface, 13-19; Varro, R.R. 2.1.1-3; V. G. 2.533-40; the following passages are quoted to exemplify the theme further, and will serve as parallels in what follows.

Ovid, Fasti, 1.197-208:

pluris opes nunc sunt quam prisci temporis annis
 dum populus pauper, dum nova Roma fuit,
 dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum
 et dabat exiguum fluminis ulva torum.
 Iuppiter angusta vix totus stabat in aede
 inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.
 frondibus ornabant quae nunc Capitolia gemmis,
 pascebatque suas ipse senator oves.
 nec pudor in stipula placidam cepisse quietem
 et faenum capiti supposuisse fuit.
 iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro
 et levis argenti lammina crimen erat.

Ovid, Fasti, 3.779-81:

an quia, cum colerent prisci studiosius agros
 et faceret patrio rure senator opus
 et caperet fasces a curvo consul aratro ...

Pliny, NH. 36.111:

nimirum sic habitaverant illi qui hoc imperium fecere
 tantum ad devincendas gentes triumphosque referendos
 ab aratro aut foco exeuntes

V. G. 2.533-5:

hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini
hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma ...

Persius, 1. 73-5, making fun of the theme:

unde Remus sulcoque terens dentalia, Quinti,
cum trepida ante boves dictatorem induit uxor
et tua aratra domum lictor tulit - euge poeta!

Compare with this Livy, 3.26. 7-12.

Juvenal too makes fun of the theme, 14. 166-71:

saturabat glebula talis
patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
uxor, et infantes ludebant quattuor, unus
vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.

Connected with this theme was the belief that people dwelling in mountainous regions, like the ancient Sabines, were hard-working, tough, and despised luxury. See:

Caesar, B.C. 1.57.3:

Albici ... homines asperi et montani et exercitati
in armis ...

Cic. leg.ag. 2.95:

Ligures montani duri atque agrestes, docuit ipse ager
nihil ferendo nisi multa cultura et magno labore
quaesitum ...

Livy, 9.13.7:

nam Samnites ea tempestate in montibus viciatim
habitantes campestris et maritima loca contempto

cultorum molliore atque, ut evenit fere, locis
simili genere ipsi montani atque agrestes
depopulabantur.

Cato, ORF². fr. 128:

ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque duritia
atque industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui
agro colendo, saxis Sabinis, silicibus repastinandis
atque conserendis ...

In Juvenal, mons, montanus, have connotations of toughness, frugality,
unsophistication connected with the heroes of the Early Days; see

2.72-74 en habitum quo te leges ac iura ferentem
 vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud
 montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris

11.77-89: haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
 cena fuit
 cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque 86
 castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
 functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat
 erectum domito referens a monte ligonem. 89

8.245-6: Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
 poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro ...

See also 11.68, 11.159: In the last passage quoted, Juvenal is talking
about Marius, who is not exactly an Early Roman; but it was commonly
said that the novus homo reached his exalted position because he
possessed the qualities which had belonged to the great nobles of the
Early Republic; see Plutarch, Marius, 3; Sallust, B.J.63; 85.36.
Mountains as background to the description of the frugal life of the
great Romans of the past occur in Horace, O. 3.6.33-43:

non his iuventus orta parentibus
 infecit aequor sanguine Punico
 Pyrrhumque at ingentem cecidit
 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum,

sed rusticorum mascula militum
 proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
 versare glebas et severae
 matris ad arbitrium recisos

portare fustes, sol ubi montium
 mutaret umbras, et iuga demeret
 bobus fatigatis ...

The ligonibus of Horace are found in Juvenal in 11.89; the montium in Horace are parallel in purpose to the three examples of mountains in the passages of Juvenal quoted above: they indicate an 'idealized' rustic setting. That Juvenal is debunking the ideal virtuous woman of those great days can be seen by comparing Horace's and Juvenal's treatment of her; Juvenal's montana uxor here is the counterpart of Horace's severae matris. Horace's words are meant to convey an effect of dignitas and gravitas. In 14.167 quoted above, she has become a feta uxor, no dignity left; rather the picture of an incessantly pregnant woman, since she has already had three children who are still little, and some more who are already big! Here, in 6.5, she has applied to her the epithet montana, which implies that she is a big, tough, virile woman. The epithet montana has therefore a double function: (1) it continues the theme of frugal country life; (2) since the epithet in these contexts implies toughness and virility, by applying it here to a woman Juvenal hints at the lack of feminine

charms of primitive woman, or rather, if we remember that all this is set nominally in the Golden Age, of the women who lived in that age. This theme of the ugliness of this woman will be continued in what follows.

In silvestrem ... culmo the double interpolation of literary themes into the original one of the Golden Age is sustained: (a) the first and obvious interpolation is that of 'Lucretian' realism: see Lucretius, 5.970-2:

saetigerisque pares subus silvestria membra
nuda dabant terrae nocturno tempore capti
circum se foliis ac frondibus involventes

This is one humorous interpolation. I note here that this sort of 'Lucretian' realism is also found in another Metal Age context, see Ovid, Met. 1.121-2:

domus antra fuerunt
et densi frutices et vinctae cortice virgae.

Compare this with Lucretius, 5.955-6:

sed nemora atque cavos montis silvasque colebant
et frutices inter condebant squalida membra

But in Ovid, the description is of the conditions of life prevailing in the Silver Age, unpleasant conditions, contrasted with the conditions of the pleasant Golden Age which have been described in 11. 89-112. In Juvenal this is all in the Golden Age.

(b) Into this interpolation of 'Lucretian' realism is interpolated another theme: that of the frugality of the Rustic Romans. We saw that montana was an element of that theme; Ovid, Fasti, 1.198-207, quoted above, shows that the 'scanty bedding' in Juvenal is another element of the same theme of Roman Rustic Frugality. And the posito aratro in Ovid reminds us of the positis aratris of Juvenal 2.74,

(quoted above) where it is found side by side with montanum vulgus in a context of Early Roman Rusticity. The appearance of montana uxor here side by side with 'scanty bedding' indicates that Juvenal is sustaining the theme of Early Rustic Life.

Silvestrem torum plays a distinct part in those two contexts:

(a) In the first context, that of 'Lucretian' realism, it is meant to suggest a makeshift pile of leaves, like the one in 5.956 and 972 quoted above. (b) In the second context, that of idealized rusticity set in a humble dining-room scene in a poor country-house, before lar and focus, it suggests something still not very civilized but definitely less primitive than what we have seen in Lucretius. Two passages in Ovid show us a torus of the same kind, made of leaves, in a poor rustic house, in a dining-room scene:

Ovid, Met. 8.655-6:

concutiuntque torum de molli fluminis ulva
impositum lecto sponda pedibusque salignis

Ovid, Fasti, 5.519-20:

nec mora, flumineam lino celantibus ulvam
sic quoque non altis incubuere toris.

See also V. A. 8.366-8:

dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit, stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae.

The same words, having different meanings, fit into the context of 'Lucretian' realism, and into the context of a dining-room scene in a humble rustic home, in the atrium, before lar and focus.

	vicinarumque ferarum	6
pellibus		7

The word pellibus fits into both contexts; (1) in the more obvious context of 'Lucretian' realism, the meaning immediately suggested is that of skins as bedding. In the two passages of Lucretius quoted on page 19, we see that it is for sleeping on that leaves are used in this primitive age. (2) but the skins also fit into the context of the humble dining-room scene. Here we must observe (a) that in Lucretius 5, which is our model for realistic primitivism, the skins of beasts are mentioned never as bedding but as clothing.

Lucr. 5.953-4: necdum res igni scibant tractare neque uti

pellibus et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum

5.1416-8: sic odium coepit glandis, sic illa relictā

strata cubilia sunt herbis et frondibus aucta.

pellis item cecidit vestis contempta ferinae.

5.1426-8: frigus enim nudos sine pellibus excruciat

terrigenas; at nos nil laedit veste carere

purpurea

Note that, as with fire, so here with pellibus Juvenal is combining into one two Lucretian stages: the use of skins as clothing appears in Lucretius after man has left his cave for a casa (5.1011). While in his cave, he has not discovered this use of pellis as vestis (5.954): (b) that a common meaning of vestis is stragulum, the coverlet that goes over a torus. A passage of Ovid, describing a dining-room scene in the humble house of Philemon and Baucis, illustrates Juvenal's purpose here; Ovid, Met. 8.655-8:

concutiuntque torum de molli fluminis ulva

impositum, lecto sponda pedibusque salignis.

vestibus hunc velant, quas non nisi tempore fasto
sternere consueverant ...

as does also Fasti, 5.519-20, where senex Hyrieus, angusti cultor agelli welcomes Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury in his humble home:

nec mora, flumineam lino celantibus ulvam

sic quoque non altis incubuere toris

See also V. A. 8.366-8, quoted above, page 20. Pelles then, which are vestes = 'clothing' in the scene of realistic 'Lucretian' primitivism are vestes = 'coverlets' in the context of the humble rustic dining-room scene. Primitive man is described, incongruously, as spreading his vestes, i.e. the skins which he wears for clothing in Lucretius, like a coverlet, vestis, over his torus before his lar and focus.

vicinarumque ferarum also fits into both contexts. If we only think of (a) realistic primitivism, then vicinae ferae simply indicate the proximity of wild beasts: see P. Green's translation, 'prowling the neighbourhood', Labriolle et Villeneuve's 'bêtes féroces du voisinage', and Duff's note, 'the wild beasts have not yet been driven back by civilization'. But if we also have in mind (b), the humble rustic house, we realize that vicinarum ferarum is also meant to suggest 'the wild beasts, their neighbours'. Primitive man lives like a wild beast, and his abode is not different from that of a wild beast. See Lucr. 5.932:

volgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum

5.982-7:

sed magis illud erat curae quod saecula ferarum

infestam miseris faciebant saepe quietem;

electique domo fugiebant saxea tecta

spumigeri suis adventu validique leonis

atque intempesta cedebant nocte paventes

hospitibus saevis instrata cubilia fronde.

Neighbours play a prominent part in the life of the rustic, and they

are often his guests.

Hor. S. 2.2.118-20:

ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes
sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
vicinus ...

Hor. S. 2.6.77-8:

Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis
ex re fabellas ...
(Cervius goes on to tell the fable of the town and
the country mouse).

Hor. Ep. 1.14.37-39:

non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat;
rident vicini glaebas et saxa moventem.

Mart. 1.49.29-30:

vocabitur venator et veniet tibi
conviva clamatus prope

Mart. 3.58.41:

facto vocatur laetus opere vicinus

J. 14.153-5:

tunicam mihi malo lupini
quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem.

J. 3.321-2:

saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros
where Umbricius, now a rustic, goes to visit his
neighbour, to listen to his satires.

Primitive man too has neighbours, of course, beastly ones, living in the cave next door! By calling the ferae vicinae, Juvenal means to suggest that just as neighbours in Horace and Martial are the guests of the rustic, so primitive man's vicini, i.e., the wild beasts, might drop in, like the hospitibus saevis of Lucretius.

haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius 7

The theme of Early Roman Rusticity continues; the new aspect of this theme that is introduced here is the contrast between the women of those days and the women of the present day. This contrast is found in two versions in literature: in version 1, the chastity of the women of Early Rome, of Rome as it was before luxury sapped the morals of its citizens, is contrasted with the unchastity of women of the present day: see Horace, O. 3.6.21ff:

motus doceri gaudet Ionicos	21
matura virgo et fingitur artibus	
iam nunc et incestos amores	
de tenero meditatur ungui;	
mox iuniores quaerit adulteros	
.	
non his iuventus orta parentibus	33
infecit aequor sanguine Punico,	
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit	
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum,	
sed rusticorum mascula militum	37
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus	
versare glebas et severae	
matris ad arbitrium recisos	
portare fustis, sol ubi montium	41
mutaret umbras ...	

H. Epds. 2.39-44:

quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet
 domum atque dulcis liberos,
 Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
 pernecis uxor Apuli,

sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum

lassi sub adventum viri

Prop. 2.32.45-52:

haec eadem ante illam iam impune et Lesbia fecit;

quae sequitur, certe est invidiosa minus.

qui quaerit Tatios veteres duosque Sabinos,

hic posuit nostra nuper in urbe pedem.

tu prius et fluctus poteris siccare marinos

altaque mortali deligere astra manu

quam facere ut nostrae nolint peccare puellae:

hic mos Saturno regna tenente fuit ...

In version 2, it is the sophistication and attractiveness of modern women which is praised and contrasted with the rusticity and unattractiveness of the women of earlier days. See:

Ovid, A. 1.8.39-44:

forsitan immundae Tatio regnante Sabinae

noluerint habiles pluribus esse viris;

nunc Mars externis animos exercet in armis,

at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui.

ludunt formosae: casta est quam nemo rogavit;

aut, si rusticitas non vetat, ipsa rogat.

O. MFF. 11-20:

forsitan antiquae Tatio sub rege Sabinae

maluerint quam se rura paterna coli,

cum matrona premens altum rubicunda sedile

assiduo durum pollice nebat opus

ipsaque claudebat quos filia paverat agnos,

ipsa dabat virgas caesaque ligna foco;

at vestrae matres teneras peperere puellas:

vultis inaurata corpora veste tegi,

vultis odoratos positu variare capillos

conspicuum gemmis vultis habere manum;

O. AA. 3.107-134 contains the same version of the theme, the poet praising the women of his day:

quia cultus adest nec nostros mansit in annos

rusticitas priscis illa superstes avis. 128.

haut similis is ambivalent in Juvenal; in the obvious and larger context of praise of Chastity and the Golden Age, the reader understands it to mean 'not chaste like you', and so fit into version 1. In the less obvious and closer context of the unattractiveness of the early Roman matrons, it means 'not attractive like you' and so fits into version 2. Note that when the reader reaches haut similis only montana has hinted at the unattractiveness of Early Rustic woman. It is only in ll. 9-10 that Juvenal's purpose becomes clear.

To sum up: in a description of the Golden Age, when Pudicitia lived on earth among men, we expect the theme of primitive v/s modern woman to follow version 1. Instead of which we get version 2, wearing an ironical mask of version 1, and dropping the mask in ll. 9-10.

In addition to the general literary jeu here, Juvenal very probably has in mind the passage of Propertius quoted above. See Colton (1).

nec tibi cuius
turbauit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos, 8

Catullus' language (Catullus 3) is in keeping with the theme of the death of Lesbia's pet sparrow. But Juvenal brings out the ludicrous element in the theme by the manner in which he refers to the event: Lesbia is not named; her identity is indicated by a circumlocution in the grand style, introduced by a relative pronoun. It is the clash between the high tone of the language and the puniness of the event described - the puniness being emphasized by the diminutive ocellos, retained from the Catullus - that provides the humour. Note that the grand periphrasis is on the V A B B A pattern (see appendix IA, example 422) and so adds to the mock-grand atmosphere.

This mannerism of Juvenal's of identifying a celebrated person or place not by his or its proper name but by means of a periphrasis describing a circumstance connected with it has been observed by editors (e.g. Friedlaender on 1.25) and it is noticeable that when he has recourse to this device his aim is invariably to debunk the person or event or object concerned. I have gathered here and examined in some detail all those examples, because I believe that they reveal something significant about Juvenal's outlook, his irreverence towards all that is 'grand'; and it also reveals something about his style: its allusiveness and its appeal to a 'learned' audience. The criterion for selecting the examples here is that a relative or adverbial pronoun is used to introduce the periphrasis. This is an arbitrary criterion, but is a convenient working tool, and allows me to draw a limit.

1. 3.24-5:

proponimus illuc

ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exiit alas.

What Umbricius is trying to say is that he is going to Cumae. He

identifies Cumae by referring to a mythical event, mentioned by Virgil, *A.* 6.14; and Silius Italicus 12. 85-103. Juvenal describes the event in a suitably grand manner. But fatigatas is the pin-prick which bursts the balloon. How unheroic of the wings to be tired! Cf. Sil. Ital. 12.102-3:

hic pro nubivago gratus pia templa meatu
instituit Phoebi, atque audaces exuit alas

2. 3.138-9:

vel qui

servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam.

The periphrasis identifies L. Caecilius Metellus, who rescued the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta. The humour is here provided by trepidam which is incongruous, the idea of fear clashing with the heroic tone of the relative clause. Trepidam suggests that the goddess was panicking, like an ordinary mortal caught in a fire. Cf. 3,200. A passage of Silius Italicus, 13.77-8, where Diomedes, their old enemy, hands over to the Trojans who are founding their new city in Italy the same Palladium which is here saved from the fire, offers an interesting comparison:

veniamque precatus

Troianam ostentat trepidis de puppe Minervam.

3. 8.264-5:

et quae

imperii finis Tiberinum virgo natavit.

The event is a heroic one, recorded by Livy, 2.13.6, and in the appropriate heroic tone by Silius Italicus, 10.496-8:

rege haec et foedere et annis

et fluvio spretis, mirantem interrita Thybrim

tranavit, frangens undam puerilibus ulnis.

Juvenal makes it humorous by referring to it in a flippant manner:

'empire-bordering ... Tiber' is a paradox which has the effect of minimizing the event: the great feat of Cloelia is reduced to a common exercise of the Roman youth. See Horace, O. 1.8.8; 3.7.27; 3.12.7; 4.1.40; S. 2.1.7-8:

ter uncti

transnanto Tiberim ...

4. 10.108-9:

et illum

ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites.

Julius Caesar is portrayed as an animal-tamer, a magister, and the Roman citizens as tamed animals performing under the threat of the whip.

domare is a common word for taming and training wild animals, and the whip was commonly used in this process. See M. 1.104. 2-5:

improbaeque tigres

indulgent patientiam flagello

mordent aurea quod lupata cervi,

quod frenis Libyci domantur ursi.

M. 2.75.1: verbera securi solitus leo ferre magistri

Ov. A. 2.7.15: asellus

assiduo domitus verbere ...

Juv. 5.154-5: qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli

discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.

See also Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. bestia, fig. 831, 835, 837. The relative clause then reduces Caesar to the stature of an animal-trainer, the Romans to the stature of trained and performing animals. The reference is probably to the incident when Caesar addressed his mutinous troops as 'Quirites'. Suetonius, Caesar, 70; Dio, 42.53.3.

5. 10.257: atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.

This telescopes into one flippancy relative clause two events of the Odyssey: Laertes' mourning for his dead - as he thinks - son in 24.315-7, and the famous episode when Odysseus swims to Phaeacia, 5.315-450. Those two events are put together and become 'that other, whose fate it is to mourn for the swimming Ithacan'. The conflation robs both events of their heroic grandeur. fas is used here by Juvenal to mean 'fate' as a parody of Virgilian language. Nowhere else does he use fas in that sense.

6. 16. 5-6: quam si nos Veneris commendet epistula Marti
 et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena

Juvenal is making fun of the gods: the commander is called Mars; one way of gaining his favour might be to have a letter of recommendation from Venus, i.e. his mistress, the reference being to the well-known adulterous relationship of Mars and Venus. Another way would be to get a recommendation from Juno. What is the connection between Juno and Mars? The usual answer of editors is that she is Mars' mother, genetrix. But this is flat after the reference to the amatory connection between Mars and Venus which tempts us to look for a similar connection between Juno and Mars. There is none that we can think of immediately; Juvenal leads us to it: Mars stands for a soldier; Juno is equated with a soldier-mad Roman matron. It is as such, as one who delectatur harena (harena being the dust of battle, see L & S, section III) that the matron=Juno has influence over Mars=commander. (Note that editors do not explain why Juvenal insists that Juno delights in Samian sand particularly.) How is the connection made between Juno and harena? Why is the soldier-mad matron called Juno? The answer is in a pun: Juno delights in Samos; Juvenal plays on Samos/Σάπρος = harena. Cf. the

three passages from the Sibylline books referred to by Mayor ad loc.; 3.363; 4.91; 8.165. This is all elaborate, *recherché*, and over-clever, but this line is unsatisfactorily explained, and the solution I suggest offers a satisfactory climax, and a satisfactory explanation of why Juno is said to delight in the harena. It also fits into the generally humorous and mock-epic, mock-grand, utilization of epic periphrases. The traditional explanation does none of those things.

7. 12.72-4: *conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
 scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen
 et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.*

The periphrasis identifies the Alban Mount, called after the breeding sow with its thirty young, an episode described by Virgil, *A.* 3.390-2; 8.43-5; 8.81-5. It is noticeable that Juvenal brings out the ludicrous element of the story: Virgil's sus has become a scrofa, a farmyard word for a breeding sow; and he dwells with relish on the description of the sow's belly with its thirty dugs, an anatomical marvel which Virgil avoids describing. Cf. *V. A.* 8.81-3:

*ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum
 candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
 procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus.*

There is no doubt that Juvenal wished his mirabile sumen to remind the reader of the more elevated mirabile monstrum of Virgil.

8. 15.4-6: *effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci
 dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
 atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.*

Juvenal refers flippantly to two tourist attractions of the ancient world. See references in Mayor ad loc. In 1.5, his humour consists

in spotlighting the ruinous state of the statue, and so robbing the famous site of its glory. The same type of minimizing description of statues is found in 8.2-5:

pictos ostendere vultus
maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos
et Curios iam dimidios umeroque minorem
Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem.

Note also that 1.5 is on the V A B B A pattern, see Appendix IA, example 206. The humour in line 6 consists of making the hundred gates, Thebes' claim to fame, the instrument of her ruin. Obrutus + abl. is to be translated in the normal way 'crushed under'. Juvenal is suggesting that the weight of the hundred gates is not helping Thebes' plight: 'where magic chords sound inside a half-Memnon, and ancient Thebes lies crushed down by its hundred gates'.

2. 3.116-8: Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum
discipulumque senex ripa nutritus in illa
ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.

Here wrong interpretation has obscured the humour and the epic reference. The usual explanation is that the ripa referred to is that of the Cydnus, and the town referred to Tarsus, and 116-7 are translated 'bred on that shore on which fell the feather of the Gorgon-born nag'. This explanation goes back to the scholia: the scholia on 117 read:

apud Tarsum civitatem Ciliciae quam praeterfluit
amnis Cydnus cuius urbis est conditor Perseus qui
nomen civitati ex facto dedit quia ibi una ex
talaribus pinnis ei excidit.

On 118: apud Tarson propter Perseum et Pegasus quod de
sanguine Medusae equus natus sit Pegasus.

Duff, however, following Schömann, Opuscula, 3. p.271, would take the reference to be to Joppa; but this is a mistake arising from confusion of Perseus with the Pegasus/Bellerophon team. There is a connection between Perseus and Joppa, but none between Pegasus/Bellerophon and Joppa. This confusion goes back to the scholia, quoted above. Schömann rightly pointed out that Gorgonei pinna caballi does not mean 'the feather of the Gorgonian nag', but was an epic 'part for whole' construction = 'the winged Gorgon-born nag'; and that delabor is commonly used of something flying or gliding down, e.g. Suet. Aug. 94, of an eagle; V. A.11.595 of a goddess; Livy, 1.16.6, of Romulus.

Egnatius Celer, the Stoic in question here, came from Berytus. See Dio. Cass. 62.26. There is no reason why we should follow the scholiasts, who lead us to Tarsus because they did not see the Homeric reference, and on the other hand knew that the name Tarsos meant 'feather', and that the foundation of that town was connected with a feather of Pegasus or Perseus. Juvenal is, in fact, referring to Berytus (the ripa being the eastern coast of the Mediterranean) by means of a reference to the Homeric poems, to which he refers with the same brevity and the same assumption that his audience will pick up a Homeric reference as we have seen in example 5 above. The event Juvenal refers to here is the war waged against the Solymi by Bellerophon on Pegasus, mentioned by Homer, Iliad, 6.184; Pindar, O. 13.90. The connection between the Solymi of Homer and a people living on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, the Jews, is made by Tacitus, Hist. 5.2:

clara alii Iudaeorum initia, Solymos, carminibus
Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae urbi
Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.

See also J. 6.544; M. 7.55; 11.94.

We then translate: 'bred on that shore towards which swooped the wing of the Gorgon-born nag'.

The humour partly depends on recognizing the flippancy reference to the heroic feat of Bellerophon and Pegasus, partly on the derogatory reference to the Jews, and is partly verbal, in that the low word caballus is placed inside an epic 'part for whole' construction.

It could be objected that Berytus is strictly not in Judaea, but Juvenal's language may be deliberately vague so as to cast aspersions on his perennial laughing-stock, the Jews; and there was enough vagueness in the ancient world about the geographical divisions of that region to make Juvenal's own vagueness normal. Strabo, 16.2.1 calls Syria the whole region bounded in the north by Cilicia, the east by the Euphrates, the south by Arabia Felix and Egypt, and the west by the Egyptian and Syrian seas. See also Pliny, NH. 5.66-7; Mela, 1.11. For 'Syrian Jews', see Ovid, AA. 1.76.

10. 6.7-8:

Going back to the passage we started from, we may observe the difference between it and the other examples of the 'identifying relative clause' we have studied. Namely, that the poem of Catullus is not heroic to start with (although the poems of Catullus were old enough by Juvenal's time to have attained the stature of a classic. See Appendix IA, example 422). Juvenal blows up the incident to epic proportions himself by referring to it in a grandiloquent manner and the humour then comes from (a) the clash between grandiloquence and the triviality of the subject, which is thus mocked; (b) the ocellos retained within the heroic phrase.

sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis 9
 et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito. 10

In 11.9-10 it becomes clear that Juvenal's intention is, while pretending to praise her chastity, to give a sarcastic and humorous description of the ugliness of primitive woman. Unlike Cynthia and Lesbia, whose breasts are part of their sexual attractiveness, Golden Age woman, or rather Early Rustic woman, has breasts which are large, heavy with milk, and devoid of all eroticism. The size of her breasts is indicated by potanda, which is a very unusual word to describe 'giving suck', and implies that the children, who are themselves magni, do not suck the milk from the breasts, but drink it down from them in large gulps. The asexuality of the breasts is indicated by ubera, which, when applied to women's breasts, refer strictly to their lactating functions, and are devoid of all erotic connotations. In the context, the reader cannot but think of Lesbia's and Cynthia's breasts, compare them with primitive woman's, and draw his conclusions as to Juvenal's meaning. Juvenal's sarcasm implies the contrast explicit in Propertius, 2.15.21-2:

necdum inclinatae prohibent te ludere mammae;
 viderit haec si quam iam peperisse pudet.

While potanda ubera is humorously active in the context of Early Rustic Rome in this way, it is humorously active in the context of the Golden Age in another way also: we saw that Juvenal's description of primitive life contained (a) details of idealized country life, (b) details of the idealized country life of the Early Romans; and it is avowedly a description of (c), the Golden Age. A detail found in contexts (a), (b), and (c) is the fulness of cows', ewes', and she-goats' udders. In context (a), cf. Ovid, R.A. 179-80:

ecce petunt rupes praeruptaque saxa capellae
iam referent haedis ubera plena suis.

O.Met. 15.472:

ubera dant saturae manibus pressanda capellae

O.Fast. 4.769:

... ubera plena premam ...

In context (b), cf. V. G. 2.524

casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae
lactea demittunt ...
hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini ...

In context (c), cf. Tib. 1.3.45-6:

ultroque ferebant
obvia securis ubera lactis oves

Hor. Epds. 16.49-50:

illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae
refertque tenta grex amicus ubera

V. Ecl. 4.21-2:

ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera ...

Juvenal intends primitive woman's ubera to remind the listener of other ubera found in similar contexts, and so to equate primitive woman mentally with those more usual bearers of ubera in similar contexts.

Infantibus magnis. In the context of Early Roman Rusticity, the children are magni primarily because they belong to a heroic age, the heroic age of early Rome. We know from Virgil that the men who lived in the days of Aeneas were taller and stronger than modern men, (A.12. 896-900). Juvenal refers ironically to this epic theme at 15.65-71. And for magni of the heroic men of Early Rome, see 14.167-9 quoted below. The theme derives ultimately from Homer, Iliad, 12.447-9. Exaggeration

of the size and strength of heroic men gives grandeur to an epic narrative. But when the epithet indicating size is transferred from men to children at the breast, as it is here, a humorous oxymoron is produced, of the same kind as montana uxor above.

The humour also operates on the Metal Ages level: magnus can mean 'grown-up'; cf. Varro, L.L. 9.10.16, where maiores is opposed to pueri: Juv. 14.77-9: *voltur iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis*

ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris adfert.

hic est ergo cibus magni quoque volturis ...

14. 167-9: *qua feta iacebat*

uxor et infantes ludebant quattuor, unus

vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum ...

where magni fratres are fully grown as opposed to the infantes, in a description of Early Rustic Rome in which magnis bears the same double meaning as here: 'big', because they belong to a heroic age, and also 'grown up'.

14. 31-33: *sic natura iubet: velocius et citius nos*

corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis

cum subeant animos auctoribus ...

In the last example there is no word to express the 'not fully grown' animal or person to which magnus is in opposition. But Juvenal is at this point speaking from the point of view of a small child, and the immediate context makes the sense 'fully-grown' apparent, and the context of the whole satire makes the sense 'parent' apparent to the reader who has the theme in mind and is following the argument. This passage has been constantly misinterpreted because it is not realized that the point of it lies in a pun: Juvenal is punning on two senses of magnus:

(a) 'fully grown', (b) 'great, authoritative'. It is impossible to translate the pun, which can only be expressed as: "since they enter

our souls by the authority of great men/grown-ups". The law of Nature Juvenal is pointing to is simply that 'great men' and 'grown-ups' are both = magni, and that, therefore, parents, being magni = 'grown-ups' are magni = full of authority.

It is the pun which links the last passage with the present one; here too, Juvenal is punning on two senses of magni; infantibus magnis = (a) heroically large children, as we have seen, (b) infantile grown-ups. The idea of grown-ups who are still mentally babyish is suggested to Juvenal by the hundred-year-old infants of Hesiod, WD, 130-1, where in the context of Metal Ages (these lines refer to men of the Silver Age, but see pp.8,19, for this habit of Juvenal's of transferring elements from one age to another to heighten the humour.) Hesiod writes:

ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτα παρὰ μητρὶ κεδυνῇ
ἔτρεφετ' ἀτάλλων, μέγα γήπιος, ὦ ἐνὶ σίκῳ.

ἔτρεφετ' ἀτάλλων suggested potanda ubera, and μέγα γήπιος is the etymological equivalent of infantibus magnis.

To sum up: there are two movements to the humour of infantibus magnis; first, an epithet which is traditional and suitable for men of the heroic era of Rome is applied with ludicrous effect to children of the same era; and secondly, the magni infantes thus created are assimilated to the infantile grown-ups who lived in Hesiod's Silver Age. We are left with the image of 100-year-old, infantile and fully-grown men being suckled by large-breasted primitive women.

The transference from the first movement to the second is operated by the mental shift from one of the two meanings of infantibus magnis to the other, and this mental shift presupposes in the reader the awareness of the two themes running through the passage, Heroic Rustic Rome, and Metal Ages; and also awareness of the possibilities for punning afforded by magnus.

The woman concerned, qua female of the days of Roman Rusticity is horrida = uncouth. See Ovid, A. 1.8.39-44; MFF 11-20; AA. 3.107-134 quoted above, p. 26.

M. 1.62. 2-3: casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis

et quamvis tetrico tristior ipsa viro ...

11.15. 1-2: sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor

et quas horribiles legant Sabinae ...

and horridus is an epithet which Juvenal applies to the Sabines elsewhere; 10. 298-9:

sanctos licet horrida mores

tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos

So horridior carries on what started with montana, the assimilation of primitive woman to the uncouth matron of Early Roman days, and her contrast with the more attractive and sophisticated 'modern' woman of the Cynthia and Lesbia type. But horridior in its more literal sense, 'hairier', carries on the same assimilation of primitive woman to the cows, ewes, she-goats, of idealized countryside descriptions which we saw happening with ubera; Juvenal is probably thinking more specifically here of she-goats, who appear in four of the passages quoted above, and, of course, goats are traditionally hairy; see O. Met. 13.927; V. G. 3.287; J. 5.155.

glandem ructante marito. It is, of course, traditional knowledge that primitive man fed on acorns. Juvenal directs his sarcasm at this theme in two passages apart from this one; 13. 53-7, like this opening passage of Satire 6, a burlesque in which the Golden Age, Early Rustic Rome, and primitive life are combined into one:

inprobitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo

credebant quo grande nefas et morte pium

si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si

barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos.

The humour here consists in transferring to a primitive age the mores of a later and more sophisticated age. The rich, proud of their wealth, and despising the poor, are a fit subject for moral indignation and a sermon; but when this moral attitude is transferred from a civilized society to a primitive one, and primitive men are pictured as proudly despising their fellows who have fewer berries and a smaller pile of acorns, the effect is not to create moral indignation in the listener, but amusement. This effect is here emphasized by acervos. The acervus of moral sermons, the object of man's avarice, is a pile of money, treasure, corn; see H. O. 2.2.23-4; S. 1.1.44; 2.3.111; 1.1.51; 2.2.105; 2.5.22; Epst. 1.2.47; 1.6.35; 2.2.190. But primitive man looks to his pile of acorns.

14,182-4:

laudant hoc numina ruris

quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae

contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.

fastidium, fastidiousness, dissatisfaction with plain ordinary food, and a craving for titillation of the palate, for novelty and luxury in things of the table, is, like avarice in the previous example, a vice of civilized society, and one condemned by moralists:

Varro. R.R. 3.9.18:

haec [gallinae africanae] novissimae in

triclinium ... introierunt

e culina propter fastidium hominum.

veneunt propter penuriam magno.

Sen. NQ. 3.18.2:

mirabamur illis tantum inesse fastidium ut nollent

attingere [piscem] nisi eodem die captum, qui, ut aiunt,

saperet ipsum mare ... ad hunc fastum pervenit venter
delicatorum ut gustare non possint nisi in ipso
convivio natantem palpitantemque viderunt.

Petr. 55:

luxuriae rictu Martis marcent moenia.
tuo palato clausus pavo pascitur
plumato amictus aureo Babylonico,
gallina tibi Numidica, tibi gallus spado;
ciconia etiam ...

And fastidium is the subject of the mock-sermon of Horace, S. 2.2.9-52:

pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea 21
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
vix tamen eripiam posito pavone velis quin
hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum
corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
rara avis, et picta pandat spectacula cauda, 26

The moral point is minimized to the point of sarcasm when Juvenal transfers it to the primitive world; primitive man is getting too luxurious to eat ... acorns!

In this passage too, the humour is of the same type: a vice of the civilized world is transferred to the primitive world with humorous effect: ructare is usually found in contexts of luxury, over-indulgence in good food and wine:

Varro, R.R. 3.2.3:

ego vero ... quocius aves hospitales etiam nunc
ructor quas mihi adposuisti paucis ante diebus ...

M. 3.82. 8-9:

stat exoletus suggeritque ructanti
pinnas rubentes ...

9.48. 5-8:

inter quae rari Laurentem ponderis aprum
 misimus: Aetola de Calydone putes.
 at tu continuo populumque patresque vocasti;
 ructat adhuc aprum pallida Roma meum

J. 4.28-31:

qualis tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus
 induperatorem, cum tot sestertia partem
 exiguum et modicae sumptam de margine cenae
 purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati.

So here primitive man is portrayed as having just finished to satiety
 a fine meal of ... acorns!

The picture of the man belching his acorns is not a gratuitous
 unrelated detail; it is meant to fit into the dining-room scene, and
 to complete the picture of Golden Age man reclining on wild-beast-skin
 coverlets, on his torus, in his atrium, and feasting on acorns in
 front of his lares and focus.

quippe aliter tunc orbe nouo caeloque recenti	11
uiuebant homines, qui rupto robore nati	12
compositiue luto nullos habuere parentes.	13

Lines 11-13 are the concluding lines of Juvenal's description of the Golden Age. He has given us a satirical account of that age, mingling into one picture disparate but somehow related themes in a most incongruous manner. And he has kept up throughout the pretence that he was describing in earnest an ideal age in the glorious past. Aliter here, like haud similis in 1.7, is deliberately ambiguous. On the surface it suggests that life in the era just described was much superior to what it is now. But for the reader who has gone below the surface of Juvenal's description, aliter suggests that life, if it was as Juvenal has described it, must have been a strange affair in the Golden Age; and if life was a strange affair, birth, we shall see, was an even stranger affair.

orbe nouo caeloque recenti. The similarity between this and Lucretius 5.907 has been pointed out by, e.g. Friedlaender, Scott. The similarity of the contexts makes it almost certain that Juvenal's line is a deliberate quotation. Lucretius is denying that there could ever have existed on earth Centaurs, Scyllae, Chimaerae, or that there could have been a Golden Age such as people talk about.

Lucr. 5. 907-12:

quare etiam tellure nova caeloque recenti
 talia qui fingit potuisse animalia gigni
 nixus in hoc uno novitatis nomine inani,
 multa licet simili ratione effutiat ore
 aurea tum dicat per terras flumina vulgo
 fluxisse, et gemmis florere arbusta suesse ...

and after denying that such an ideal age as people talk about could have existed, he goes on to give his own 'realistic' account of human life in

the beginning, with an unsparing abundance of horrific detail. In examining Juvenal's account of the Golden Age, we have noticed many details borrowed from 'Lucretian realism', all in the account in book 5, which follows after the passage quoted here. By quoting Lucretius, Juvenal acknowledges a debt, and warns the reader that, like the Epicurean, he has no time for Golden Age fancies. The method is allusive; the appeal to the literary connoisseur.

The Lucretian quotation and the tone of the whole passage indicate to us that Juvenal is no firm believer in the existence of the men whose mode of birth he is about to describe. Birth of men of old from trees is mentioned by Virgil, A. 8.315; Hesiod, WD. 145. Juvenal's method to make the concept humorous, or rather to bring out the humour latent in the concept, consists in dwelling on a detail which Hesiod and Virgil do not mention: the moment when the wood splits and a man springs out of the tree. It is the word rupto that changes the picture from the common one which emphasises the hardness of men born of oak or ash to the comical one of man issuing from an oak as it splits. Virgil and Hesiod wisely leave the exact relationship between tree and man vague; the effect of the hardness of these men is achieved by the impressionist method. Juvenal brings in the word rupto, of merciless realism, picturing that solemn moment when the oak splits and a man springs out of it. The word rupto is a deliberate and significant alteration of Virgil's (A. 8.315)

gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata

the change from duro to rupto effecting the change of tone. It should not have needed pointing out that Juvenal, by importing rupto, is describing in comically precise anatomical detail the oak at the precise moment of parturition, as if the oak were human.

The connection between the Juvenal and the Virgil, which would

trigger off the listener's recognition of the parody, is that both are about people 'in the beginning'. Juvenal is talking about the Golden Age, the first Age of the World; Virgil about the age before the Golden Age of Latium, before Saturn, driven away by Juppiter, came to establish a Golden Age in Latium - he is talking about the first Age of Latium. The transference humorously assimilates people of the ideal Age (in Juvenal) to people of a hard age before the ideal Age (in Virgil).

compositive luto. This makes fun of another mythical view of the birth of the human race, namely that it was fashioned by Prometheus from mud. The choice of the word lutum in the context is significant, indicating Juvenal's ironical attitude to the myth. Lutum in Juvenal always has unpleasant connotations, see 3.247; 7.179-80; 14.66; in 14.34-5, where he refers to the same myth, Juvenal again uses the word lutum:

iuvenes, quibus arte benigna

et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan,

"whose midribs the Titan fashioned with kindly art and better mud".

Scott notes that luto is a 'low' word used here to minimize the description.

nullos habuere parentes. Like rupto robore nati and compositi luto this is a sarcasm directed at the unrealistic creation myths of poetry. We expect the relative clause to give us some significant information about primitive man to explain why he lived aliter, (and as aliter on the surface means 'a chaster life', to explain how or why they were chaster). Our expectations are disappointed and we are instead given the matter-of-fact conclusion to the two participial phrases that men created in that way ... had no parents. After the build-up of the two participial phrases, nullos ... parentes is a $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\delta\upsilon$. While the conclusion is in this sense unexpected, in other respects it ties up with Juvenal's line of thought introduced by aliter vivebant,

the sarcastic thought being: "their life must indeed have been peculiar if their birth was like this".

multa Pudicitiae ueteris uestigia forsan 14

aut aliqua 15

As uestigia is found here governing a noun in the genitive qualified by veteris, the meaning of the word that first occurs to the listener's mind is 'traces', 'remains'; and veteris is then translated 'past', 'ancient'. See V. E. 4.31: *priscae vestigia fraudis*; A. 4.23: *veteris vestigia flammae*; O. Met. 1.237: *veteris ... vestigia formae*; A. 3.8.19: *cicatrices ... veteris vestigia pugnae*. This is the one meaning which occurs to translators:

Green: "Some few traces perhaps of Chastity's ancient presence ..."

Labriolle et Villeneuve: "peut-être quelques vestiges plus ou moins nombreux de l'ancienne Pudeur"

Ramsay: "some few traces of ancient modesty".

But this is only one meaning; we must not forget that Pudicitia is personified, and that therefore (a) veteris is an element of burlesque, of the kind we saw in II. 1-2; Pudicitia, having delayed her death long enough and into the reign of Juppiter, is alive, but she is an old woman: (b) since Pudicitia is a person, vestigia then assumes its other meaning of 'footprints', and is used here in parody of the similar event in V. G. 2.474, where Justice leaves the earth to escape from its vices:

extrema per illos

Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

The vestigia+verb type of periphrasis for a verb of motion is common.

In addition to the example just quoted, we find in Virgil alone vestigia figit, refert, torsit, vertit.

Juvenal keeps Virgil's vestigia, but does not make it the object of a verb with which it would form a circumlocution of the regular kind. Instead, just as Virgil expressed Justice's departure from this earth

in terms of a cessation of footprint-making, so Juvenal expresses her presence in terms of a continued supply of footprints. Multa vestigia exstiterint is thus a humorous variation on the grand circumlocution extrema vestigia fecit. Juvenal uses the strange expression "there were still many footprints of Pudicitia" as a direct and parodying reference to Virgil's "Justice made her last footprints".

aut aliqua. This continues the burlesque of Pudicitia in terms of the Virgilian parody; Virgil's Iustitia, when she leaves the earth, stops making footprints. Juvenal starts by saying that there were still perhaps many footprints of Pudicitia in the reign of Juppiter; then, by a figure of speech known as correctio, he modifies this statement, and says: "Pudicitia made many footprints ... or a few", implying that although Pudicitia had not stopped making footprints altogether, as in Virgil, she may only have been able to make a few, since she was an old woman by that time. The correctio (for which see Q. 9.1.30; 9.3.89; ad Herenn. 4.36) serves to put emphasis on aut aliqua, which is also put in a prominent position by the enjambement.

aut aliqua exstiterint et sub Ioue, sed Ioue nondum 15
 barbato, nondum Graecis iurare paratis 16
 per caput alterius, 17

The growth of the beard indicates that the puer has become a iuuenis, see J.13.55-6:

si iuuenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
 barbato cuicumque puer
 14.215-7: parcendum est teneris; nondum implevere medullas
 maturae mala nequitiae. cum pectere barbam
 coeperit ...

and this stage was a significant one in the life of a Roman; the shaving of the first beard, the depositio barbae, marked a turning-point in his life, not least in his sexual life. At this point he was deemed to have become a man, fit for sexual intercourse with the opposite sex, and no longer suitable as paidika. See J. 3.186:

ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati
 M.11.39.3-4: iam mihi nigrescunt tonsa sudaria barba
 et queritur labris puncta puella meis
 J.6.377-8: ... sed tu iam durum, Postume, iamque
 tendendum eunucho Bromium committere noli
 M.11.22.5: levibus in pueris plus haec quam mentula peccat
 et faciunt digiti praecipitantque virum:
 inde tragus celeresque pili mirandaque matri
 barba ...

Priapea, 13: percidere puer, moneo: futuere puella.
 barbatum furem tertia poena manet.

Cf. Priapea, 74.

Juvenal means that Juppiter has not reached manhood and cannot therefore have started on his career as adulterer. By measuring Juppiter's

sexual aptitude by the growth of his beard, thus applying to him standards commonly used in everyday Roman life and literature for that purpose, Juvenal assimilates him to a mortal and makes him ungodlike.

The reference to Juppiter's beard is given more point by the fact that Juppiter was almost universally represented as bearded. (Cic. ND. 1.83; and Pease ad loc.).

nondum Graecis ... alterius. These words have never been explained; indeed commentators have failed to notice that there was anything to explain in them; but there is; the context demands that the text be referring to a time after Juppiter had taken over from Saturn (i.e. after the Golden Age) but before an incident in which the gods of the 'new regime' were involved, which incident, by its occurrence, indicated clearly that 'Pudicitia had gone'. Commentators are satisfied that the perjury referred to in the text indicates sufficiently that morals are declining; they are satisfied that the 'Greeks' are ordinary Greeks; and they do not ask themselves what this has to do with Pudicitia, which is surely the central theme of this passage. Juvenal's audience, we have seen, were expected to catch literary allusions, and Homeric allusions particularly. This is one such, to Odyssey, 8.348-56, the scene of Ares and Aphrodite caught in the bed of adultery by Poseidon, an incident well-known enough (see V.G. 4.346) and referred to more than once by Juvenal (2.31; 10.314; 16.5): Hephaestus has introduced the gods into his bedroom, where Ares and Aphrodite are lying on the bed, caught in the net he had fashioned. Apollo and Hermes have a good laugh, but not Poseidon; he is concerned for Ares, and wants Hephaestus to let him go:

Νῦσον· ἐγὼ δὲ τοι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ χροαί, ὥς σὺ κελεύεις,
τίσειν αἴσιρα πάντα μετ' Ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

Poseidon here makes a promise in Ares' name. But Poseidon sees the



danger of accepting this promise:

μή γε, Ποσειδάων γαῖοιχε, τὰὐτὰ κέλευε·
 δειλᾷ τοι δειλῶν γε καὶ ἐγγύαῳ ἐγγυάσασθαι.
 πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ σε δέοιμι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
 εἴ κεν Ἄρης οἴχοιτο χρεὸς καὶ δορμὸν ὑπάλυξας;

Since Poseidon has sworn that Ares would pay, and Ares has sworn nothing at all, neither Poseidon nor Ares could be held responsible before the tribunal of the gods if it came to that. Hephaestus sees that Poseidon is trying to trick him by this promise made in someone else's name, and Poseidon is forced to swear in his own name:

Ἥφαιστοι, εἴ περ γάρ κεν Ἄρης χρεὸς ὑπάλυξας
 οἴχηται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τᾶδε τίσω.

We see then that by nondum ... alterius Juvenal means "before the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite" and the incident provides the link both with Pudicitia, and with the new post-Saturn pantheon.

At the same time, of course, Juvenal uses the reference to this incident to cast aspersions on the Greeks. He implies that Poseidon's attempt to make a sly deal with Hephaestus can be explained in terms of the god's national characteristics. And Poseidon, in turn, is reduced to the stature of a contemporary sly Greek. These lines are therefore not merely a reference to Homer, but a humorous interpretation of his poetry.

The playful transference of racial prejudices to heroic and legendary characters has been observed in 3.117-8, where Homer's text is used to cast aspersions on the Jews, and is also used in 12.121-2, where Juvenal sides with his fellow-citizen, Pacuvius, but disapproves of Agamemnon the Greek.

cum furem nemo timeret 17

caulibus ac pomis et aperto uiueret horto. 18

Here too the connection with Pudicitia is not immediately evident; but there is one. The satirist starts from the commonplace that in the Golden Age laborious tilling of the ground was unnecessary; see H. WD. 116-9; Ov. Met. 1.101-112; Hor. Epds. 16.43-6; V. E. 4.28-41. It follows from this that there was no portioning out of land, and no boundaries; see Tib. 1.3.44; Ov. A. 3.8.41-2. This commonplace Juvenal adapts to his own purpose; he replaces the absence of boundaries in the fields of the Golden Age by an absence of fences or enclosures in the gardens of his own Silver Age. (For this transference from one era to another, see pp. 8, 19, 39). And this adaptation allows him to introduce references to the god who looked after horti, their fruits and vegetables, and kept thieves out, Priapus. See Tib. 1.1.17-8:

pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis

terreat ut sacra falce Priapus aues.

M.3.58.45-7:

at tu sub urbe possides famem mundam

et turre sub alta prospicis meras laurus

furem Priapo non timente securus.

M.3.68.9:

custodem medio statuit quam vilicus horto

Priap. 23:

quicumque hic violam rosamve carpet

furtivumve holus aut inempta poma

This reference to Priapus, the salax deus, (Priap. 14), the ruber hortorum custos, membrosior aequo, (Priap. 1) is the link with Pudicitia.

Pudicitia may have lived on earth under Jupiter, but it was (1) before

Juppiter had reached puberty; (2) before Ares and Aphrodite committed adultery; (3) before Priapus came.

Those two verses contain an extended double-entendre: the first meaning is: "when no man feared for his cabbages and his fruits and all men lived with their gardens unfenced"; and the second meaning, with nemo keeping its negative force throughout, "when there was no one (i.e., no Priapus) who feared for his cabbages and fruits, and lived with his garden open". Hortus then has the obscene sense which Πεδίον and Κῆπος have in Greek, and hortus itself in Latin. See Diog.Laert. 2.116; Aristoph. Lysist. 88-9; Aves. 507; Priap. 5:

quod meus hortus habet sumas impune licebit

si dederis nobis quod tuus hortus habet.

The reference in Πεδίον, Κῆπος, hortus is partly to 'that which is ploughed', partly to the hair, pubic in the case of women, of the nates in the case of men. See J. 2.11-3:

hispida membra quidem et durae per bracchia saetae

promittunt atrocem animum, sed podice levi

caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae.

Pers.4.39-40: quinque palaestritae licet haec plantaria vellant

elixasque nates labefactent forcipe adunca

Note that Persius' labefactent is an echo of Virgil, G. 2.264, where Virgil is talking about fields.

The reader who has realized that there is a reference to Priapus will have no difficulty in seeing the double-entendre in aperto horto: "his garden unfenced/his posterior bare". Priapus is the god qui tectum nullis vestibus inguen habet; and apertus = non tectus is found in

Priap. 9: mentula semper aperta est.

Priap. 14: nos pudore pulso
stamus sub Iove coleis apertis.

(Is there a reference to a theme like Juvenal's in pudore pulso ... sub Iove?) With a pun, Priap. 38:

simpliciter tibi me quodcumque est dicere oportet

natura est quoniam semper aperta mihi.

the pun being on natura = nature/private parts. Cf. Ovid, A.1.10.15-6:

Amor

et nullas vestes, ut sit apertus, habet.

Priapus is then, traditionally, aperta mentula. Juvenal varies the theme to make fun of Priapus; Priapus is traditionally a male if ever there was one; by emphasising the fact that Priapus stood with his posterior bare, Juvenal insinuates that Priapus participates also in less typical sexual activities. There is then a two-level link with the theme of Chastity: (1) Priapus is a salacious god, one of those who came after Saturn; (2) Juvenal also hints that his standing with his posterior bare was an invitation to men to come into his hortus, another more flagrant offence against Pudicitia.

paulatim deinde ad superos Astraea recessit 19
 hac comite, atque duae pariter fugere sorores. 20

We saw that moratam in terris in 11.1-2 suggested that Pudicitia had stayed on earth too long. We also saw that in 11.14-5 Pudicitia had become an old woman, unable to walk very far. There is now a reference to Astraea's and Pudicitia's death. The obvious meaning of the passage is that Astraea and Pudicitia go to join the other gods; but the previous hints and the form of the expression here both suggest the double-entendre. See Cic. Tusc. 4.40:

sed tamen transisse videtur modum, quippe qui ob
 eam causam a vita recesserit.

M.4.17.40: tunc largas partitus opes a luce recessit.

We have here two expressions with recedere meaning to die. 'To die' can also be expressed as 'going below, to the regions below, to the infera'.

M.1.36.5: diceret infernas et qui prior isset ad umbras

M.11.69.11: nec queror infernas quamvis cito rapta sub umbras

M.1.101.10: ad infernas liber iturus aquas

M.9.29.2: rapta es ad infernas tam cito Ditis aquas.

But Pudicitia and Astraea, of course, do not recedere ad inferos, which is what human beings might do, but ad superos; this same play on words, but with a more serious purpose is found in Cic. Laelius. 12:

ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur
 deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

in which alto, superos, inferos speak to each other.

The picture which Juvenal leaves with us at the conclusion of this

pastiche is the ridiculous one of two old women, Pudicitia and Astraea, who are gradually 'returning to the gods above', i.e., becoming senile, and finally running away.

anticum et uetus est alienum, Postume, lectum 21
 concutere atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri. 22
 omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas: 23
 uiderunt primos argentea saecula moechos. 24

The marriage-couch is lectus genialis, and genialis applied to the couch or part of it in nuptial contexts is commonplace. See Tac. Ann. 15.37: genialis torus; Cat. 64.47: pulvinar geniale; J.10.334: Tyrius genialis, of the coverlet of the nuptial couch. Here too sacri genium contemnere fulcri is immediately understood in the context to be a circumlocution for contemnere sacrum ac geniale fulcrum, geniale fulcrum being the fulcrum of the lectus genialis, lectum in the preceding line and the general context leading the listener to this meaning. But why the circumlocution? To obtain a pun: 'to indulge one's genius', 'to look after one's genius' was a common expression for 'to have a good time'; and the opposite, 'to deprive one's genius' = 'to inflict discomfort upon oneself'. The word genialis, the traditional epithet of the marriage-bed and of all its parts suggests to Juvenal a pun on expressions like curare genium, (H.O. 3.17.15) and taking advantage of the equivalence non curo = contemno, he expresses the maltreatment of the marriage-bed by the adulterers as contemnere genium fulcri = 'give the marriage-bed-post a bad time'. On the surface, the phrase is a high-sounding one: 'and to despise the sanctity of the marriage-bed'. But the listener who knows his Juvenal would have detected under the solemnity and the epic language the light-hearted pun.

A point of style to be noticed here is how Juvenal prepares the listener for the pun to come: alienum lectum concutere thrusts forcibly into the listener's mind the image of the bed being shaken by the adulterers which is necessary for the understanding of the pun which follows in the rest of the sentence. This necessity of establishing the

image also explains why Juvenal uses the atypical and vivid expression for 'to commit adultery'. The general effect of these two lines is one of light-heartedness and insouciance. For another pun on genius, see commentary on 6.562.

Lines 23-4 contain the sententia that serves as conclusion to the section on Metal Ages. Lines 1-20 describe life in the various ages. Lines 21-4 are ostensibly the conclusion drawn from the description. In fact, the concluding verses do not depend logically on 1-20, and do not follow from them. The relation between 1-20 and 21-4 is a purely structural one. ll.21-4 are two pairs of lines each containing a preparation for a sententia + the sententia. They round off the humorous burlesque of the Golden Age in the same light-hearted vein. Anticum ... concutere provides the preparation and foil for the sententia in the punning phrase atque ... fulcri. And omne ... aetas serves as preparation and foil for the sententia

viderunt primos argentea saecula moechos.

This verse is a well-constructed line on the V A B B A pattern, see Appendix IA. The humour here is provided by the clash between the low theme and vocabulary of adultery, primos ... moechos, and the elevated verse pattern, suitable for the epic theme of the Metal Ages.

So ends Juvenal's treatment of the Golden Age, a section full of mockery, sarcasm, *recherche* and literature-based wit; introduced and concluded by a verse on a mock-grand pattern.

conuentum tamen et pactum et sponsalia nostra	25
tempestate paras iamque a tonsore magistro	26
pecteris et digito pignus fortasse dedisti?	27
certe sanus eras. uxorem, Postume, ducis?	28
dic qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitere colubris.	29

tamen ... nostra tempestate are the words which link this with the introductory section on Metal Ages, responding to argentea saecula. The five lines form a self-contained section leading to the humorous conclusion in 1.29. Postumus is shown in the first three lines preparing for marriage; he is preparing the legal contract (conuentum, pactum, sponsalia), he has given the bride-to-be a ring, thereby pledging his word (digito ... dedisti), he is having his hair done for the marriage. The effect of feverish activity is created by the abundance of details piled on top of each other in a tricolon, and by the departure from the strict order of events; this build-up is then crowned by three bold words: certe sanus eras.

Having firmly established the theme, Juvenal now jokes on it: a man who is mad can be said, in epic poetry, to be the prey of the Furies (for example, the mad Orestes). Paraphrased, then, what he says in uxorem ... colubris is a mere repetition in other words of what he has just said: "Are you getting married, Postumus? What Fury is hounding you?" But the point of this repetition is in the actual words used: "Are you leading a wife? Tell us, what Fury is driving you?" Exagitere picks up ducis; Tisiphone and her snakes pick up uxorem. Paraphrased, Juvenal's joke is: "You think that you are leading a wife; in fact, you are being driven by a Fury". The wife is thus humorously equated with a Fury.

a tonsore magistro pecteris. As this comes amongst the quasi-technical preparations for marriage, it would seem to indicate that the

state of the bridegroom's hair was a more important and noticeable feature in Roman than in modern marriages. In Catullus 61.142, the groom is unguentate marite, and in Lucan 2.367-380, where the unusual marriage of Cato is being described, amongst all the traditional activities connected with marriage the poet mentions the fact that Cato did not have his hair cut:

obsita funerea celatur purpura lana,
non soliti lusere sales, nec more Sabino
excepit tristis convicia festa maritus.
pignora nulla domus, nulli colere propinqui:
iunguntur taciti contentique auspice Bruto.
ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab ore
caesariem duroque admisit gaudia voltu
.....
nec foedera prisca
sunt temptata tori: iusto quoque robur amoris
restitit.

qua Tisiphone ... quibus colubris? This conclusion in the grand style, containing asyndeton and anaphora, also contains an epic antonomasia in the grand style (qua Tisiphone = what madness) which, being out of step with the low context, creates a humorous effect, a common trick of Juvenal's. See 16.26; 13.249; 12.119; 12.128; 10.132; 7.25; 5.38; and see Scott, chapter 3.

ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam, 30
 cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae, 31
 cum tibi uicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons? 32

These three lines form the next self-contained section, containing its own elaborate and literature-based point. The link with what precedes is the word domina. This is the common word for the wife, the materfamilias, and this is the obvious sense here, in the context of marriage. But we should be alive to the undertones: referring back to 1.29, dominam carries undertones of the mistress/slave relationship: the wife is the domina, who, whip-brandishing Tisiphone, chastises her husband like an offending slave. Thus domina in one sense links with the preceding section. At the same time, domina is what the elegiac lover calls his mistress, and it is in this sense that domina looks forward to what is to follow in the section.

The elegiac lover - most commonly in the context of the so-called paraclausithuron - often threatens to, or actually does, kill himself. See Copley, p.1, 117, 18, 134-40. Cf. Ovid RA. 15-20:

at si quis male fert indignae regna puellae
 ne pereat, nostrae sentiat artis opem.
 cur aliquis laqueo collum nodatus amator
 a trabe sublimi triste pendit onus?
 cur aliquis rigido fodit sua pectora ferro?
 invidiam caedis pacis amator habes.

Prop. 2.14.31-2:

quod si forte aliqua nobis mutabere culpa
 vestibulum iaceam mortuus ante tuum.

Ov. Met. 14.735-8:

cum foribus laquei religaret vincula summis
'haec tibi sarta placent, crudelis et impia?' dixit
inseruitque caput, sed tum quoque versus ad illam,
atque onus infelix elisa fauce pependit.

Lucian. Dial. mer. 12.312:

σου δέ ποτε λυπήσῃ τάχα, ἂν ἀκούσῃς τι
περὶ ἑρῶν, κειμένην με ἦτοι βρόχῳ ἑμαυτὴν
ἀποπνίξασαν ἢ ἐς τὸ φρέαρ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν
ἐρπεσοῦσαν, ἢ ἕνα γέ τινα τρόπον ἐρύσω
θανάτου...

See also Theocritus 3 and 23; Calpurnius Siculus, 3.86-8. The lover's suicide is such a commonplace that Seneca can mention it amongst the traditional types of suicide:

Epist. 1.4.4: alius ante amicae fores laqueo pependit, alius se praecipitavit a tecto ne dominum stomachantem diutius audiret.

(One can speculate whether the transition from one example of lovers' suicide to two examples of slave suicide is prompted to Seneca by the same kind of domina/amica association as we find here in J.)

See, most interestingly, Petronius 94, where Encolpius, disappointed in his love for Giton, prepares to commit suicide by hanging himself. Petronius has his little literary joke: in the typical cases, such as those referred to above, it is the exclusus amator who commits suicide; in Petronius Encolpius is an inclusus amator, having been locked in his room by Eumolpus, who has made off with Giton. And Giton, on his return, says that he was ready to commit suicide, out of despair, by throwing himself from a height.

In the traditional situation, we have a lover who is refused the favours of his domina, and threatens to kill himself; Ovid's Remedia

Amoris suggests ways to the lover of curing himself of his love, and so of not having to resort to such extreme acts of despair; here we find a man who is about to acquire a domina, and Juvenal offers him his own brand of Remedia, the traditional lover's acts of despair.

caligantes fenestrae are windows so high that to look down from them causes vertigo. To Duff's examples may be added Ov. AA. 2.85-8:

vincla labant et cera deo propiore liquescit,

nec tenues ventos bracchia mota tenent.

territus a summo despexit in aequora caelo;

nox oculis pavido venit oborta metu.

aut si de multis nullus placet exitus, illud	33
nonne putas melius, quod tecum pusio dormit?	34
pusio, qui noctu non litigat, exigit a te	35
nulla iacens illic munuscula, nec queritur quod	36
et lateri parcas nec quantum iussit anheles.	37

To understand fully this next section, we must trace the line of thought, which can be expressed as follows, the parenthesis containing what is left unexpressed in Juvenal's text: "If you do not want to die (and yet must have intercourse of some kind), do you not think it better that you have a pusio sleeping with you ..?" The part of the protasis "(and must have intercourse of some kind)" which is suppressed in the text, is only partly so. Here too we must look closely at the actual words used by Juvenal, and the interesting word here is exitus; exitus is the link between the sections: looking back, it means, of course, 'death': 'if of the many kinds of death, none pleases you ...'; but at the same time the particular word is used to tease the listener's mind along the following lines: 'If no exitus pleases you, if what you want is initus or coitus ...'. Which precise word the listener is supposed to supply mentally is unimportant. What is to be noted is the way Juvenal has of teasing the listener, and supplementing continuity of thought with humorous double meanings. The word exitus is used in this way to supplement the suppressed part of the protasis supplied between brackets at the beginning of this paragraph.

Having introduced the theme in the first two lines, Juvenal now playfully elaborates: but before we study this elaboration, we must have it clear in our minds that Postumus is assumed to have a pusio already. In other words, Juvenal is saying: "don't you prefer to sleep with your pusio as you do now and as you will no longer be able to once you are married ..?". See Cat.61.126-45; M.11.78. He is not saying: "would you not rather get yourself a pusio". Quite apart

from the fact that the parallels show that in marriage contexts the possession of a pusio, concubinus, by the husband is regularly assumed, the indicatives here (dormit, exigit, litigat, queritur) make this clear. The syntax and the literary context - and we know now that we can assume that Juvenal expected his audience to be alive to literary contexts - are strong enough arguments to allow us to say with a measure of confidence that translations like the following are wrong: Labriolle et Villeneuve:

pourquoi ne pas faire dormir un mignon auprès de
toi? avec un mignon, point de querelles nocturnes ...

Ramsay:

how much better to take some boy bedfellow, who
would never wrangle with you o' nights ...

Green:

isn't it better to sleep with a pretty boy?
Boys don't quarrel all night ...

One other feature must be noted: the rhetorical use of the color: boys are not necessarily less nagging, meretricious, and sexually demanding than women. See Tib. 1.4, 1.8, 1.9, M.11.58 and Petronius, 87; in the last passage a boy is depicted as doing all of those things which Postumus' pusio does not do. By using the color, Juvenal can assume and state categorically that Postumus' pusio possesses those qualities, and the wife - we are left to deduce - is bound to have the corresponding defects. The point of this section is not a logical one: it is rhetorical, the satirist delighting his listener with the exuberant salaciousness of the last three lines, which we can now examine in detail.

The structure of the three lines is that of an ascending tricolon (pusio ... litigat, exigit ... munuscula, nec queritur ... anheles), the first two cola containing one finite verb each, while the last

contains four, and is the grand climax; it is a climax of salacious humour: throughout the tricolon, we are to imagine the woman doing those things which the pusio is said not to do; we imagine her first nagging, then demanding gifts before allowing her husband to have intercourse, and finally - at the climax - demanding excessive sexual efforts from him. We have in the tricolon a continuous picture of the progress of intercourse - a picture which the pun on exitus has stirred us to observe - from negative nagging, to meretricious nagging, to nagging about his lack of sexual power, and we are left with the picture of the husband with broken back, panting exhausted on top of the wife who nags him into keeping up his efforts. The whole section, starting with the pun on exitus, through the color, builds up towards this humorous picture which crowns the section.

sed placet Vrsidio lex Iulia: tollere dulcem	38
cogitat heredem, cariturus turture magno	39
mullorumque iubis et captatore macello.	40

The link in thought between this three-line section and the preceding is: "But you want to abandon your pusio for a wife because a wife can give you an heir, and a pusio cannot". The link is established in the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines (sed ... heredem). The section then develops, in the last $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines (cariturus ... macello) into the humorous description (examined later) of the good things the husband will no longer enjoy when he has an heir - and we realize that our husband or husband-to-be has acquired the characteristics of a stock figure in satire, Horatian and Juvenalian, that of the dives orbus. If we then examine how Juvenal has introduced this new character so unobtrusively, the device used can best be schematized by paraphrase: "Ursidius wants to have children; he will therefore not be able to be a dives orbus". The stock character is negatively introduced, so to speak; it is his absence that is introduced.

We pause here to note a characteristic of Juvenal: his readiness to deviate from strict sequence of thought to introduce en passant a humorous little episode; there would have been no gap in thought if Juvenal had straightaway introduced the moechorum notissimus episode. ll.38-40 add not a single argument against women or marriage, but for the hint that marriage reduces one's chances of being a dives orbus! But the fancy takes him to introduce the dives orbus for a bit of gratuitous fun, and he brings him in, elaborately and cleverly.

Ursidius' introduction at this point is strange, so unexpected that most editors think that Postumus Ursidius is one person! A strange name, and a strange practice to call the same person by two names, without apparent reason! There is no reason why Postumus should not

have been the subject of 38-40. As shown at the beginning of this note, there is no break in thought between the themes of wanting an heir and that of the preceding section, the theme of sleeping with a pusio. But if the satirist had kept Postumus as the subject of 38-40, he would have had to bring in a new person at 41, for, granted the great freedom which satirists enjoy in this respect, it would still have been awkward for Juvenal to qualify the addressee of his poem as moechorum notissimus; and such a character is needed in the section beginning at 41.

We can now appreciate fully the economy of sed placet ... Iulia as link words: the link with the previous section we have seen; lex Iulia is needed for 38-40, the dives orbus episode. Once that episode is over, we can forget that the Julian law was ever mentioned. Nothing in what follows depends on it. Ursidius, qua moechorum notissimus, is needed to provide the thematic material for the section beginning at 41. In 38-40 Ursidius is a mere name without a character to go with it. It is only in 41 that he assumes a character; the supporter of the lex Iulia and the moechorum notissimus are made into one character bearing the name Ursidius solely to help the transition from episode to episode. Sed placet ... Iulia picks up the idea of intercourse with a pusio and introduces two sections all in $\frac{2}{3}$ of a line.

The gifts which Ursidius will not get are dealt with humorously: the emphasized largeness of the pigeons is a comic exaggeration, containing an element of mock-grandeur, a common trick in Juvenal. See appendix IB on grandis, pp. 77-84; also appendix IA, section I. See especially 11.122-4:

latos nisi sustinet orbis
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes,

where the luxury of modern Romans is being mocked. See Appendix IA, example 283.

11. 79-80:

ipse focus brevibus ponebat holuscula, quae nunc
squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor.

See Appendix IA, example 300.

6.540-1:

ut veniam culpaē non abnuat ansere magno
scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris,

where the religious element is being mocked. See commentary ad loc.

11. 137-41:

discipuli Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
sumine cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus
et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens
et Gaetulus oryx hebeti lautissima ferro
caeditur ...

See Appendix IA, example 283.

The second present is mullorum iubis, the beards of mullets.
(For bearded mullets see D'Arcy Thomson, s.v. *Τριγλῆ*). The quaint
expression is used to give a flippant tone by means of a mock epicism,
beards of mullets = bearded mullets. In the last element of the
enumeration, captatore macello is a humorous personification of the
market into a legacy-hunter.

quid fieri non posse putes, si iungitur ulla	41
Vrsidio? si moechorum notissimus olim	42
stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro,	43
quem totiens texit perituri cista Latini?	44

Ursidius now acquires his characteristic of moechorum notissimus to provide the next humorous episode. The theme of the best-known of adulterers getting married is ironical in itself, but Juvenal enlivens it by a humorous reference to the adultery mime. The plot of the adultery mime, in which the lover (played by Latinus the actor in Domitianic times, and therefore often called simply Latinus) and the unfaithful wife (played by Thymele in Domitianic times, and so often called simply Thymele) deceive the husband, who at some point in the action returns suddenly, so that the adulterer has to hide in fear of his life (whence he is called trepidus in 1.36, and periturus here) has been tentatively reconstructed by Reynolds (CQ 40 (1946)). There are notable references to it in M.1.4, 2.72, 3.86, 5.61; J.8.197, 1.36. (In this last passage more recent editors rather obtusely want to see a reference to the fact that the actor Latinus was a delator, not seeing that the reference is to the plot of the mime, in which the wife, Thymele, tries to engage the attention of the husband so as to allow the scared lover, Latinus, to escape. This latter and correct interpretation, going back to Turnebus, Adversaria, 20.8, will be found reported and accepted in Ruperti. But it has been rejected by more recent editors, under the influence of Madvig (II) who went back to the ignorance of the scholiasts.)

Juvenal develops this section by reference to the situation in the mime. Ursidius, who used to play the part of the adulterer who hides in the chest at the unexpected coming of the husband, now is

going to play the part of the husband, who is constantly tricked by the clever wife and her clever lover, who is 'led by the nose'.

capistrum is the head-harness, comprising the halter, used for leading cattle along. See Daremberg, *Saglio*. s.v. capistrum. The actor in the mime who played the part of the gullible husband was known quasi-technically as the stupidus, and Ovid uses the epithet stultus in connection with him, *Tristia*, 2.497-500:

quid si scripsissem mimos obscena iocantes
qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent
in quibus adsidue cultus procedit adulter
verbaque dat stulto callida nupta viro ...

We lose a considerable part of the humour if we do not visualize both 43 and 44 as references to the plot of the mime; Juvenal expresses the change in status wanted by Ursidius as a change in roles in the adultery mime, from that of the frightened lover to that of the gullible husband. For this to be evident, maritalis should be translated as "husband's", "now presents his stupid head to the head-harness for husbands". To translate it as "matrimonial, conjugal" blurs the image by being too general.

As Juvenal's logical point is supposedly against marriage, we expect him to emphasize the ridiculous role of the husband by contrasting it with the more glamorous one of the lover. This would be the logical and rhetorical thing to do. But Juvenal obviously cares more for humour than for rhetorical logic: he lays the emphasis on the ridiculous side of both husband and lover; both are shown in ridiculous positions. What Juvenal finds and wants us to find inconceivable is that the frightened-to-death lover of mime should become the gullible husband of mime, that those two traditionally separate and contrasted roles should now fuse into one. The 'impossibility' is conceived purely in terms

of the mime; this insouciant, light-hearted treatment is the hall-mark of Juvenal. When Duff summarizes this passage in the following terms: "Strange that you, once the dread of husbands, should become a husband yourself", he is taking the obvious rhetorical line that Juvenal did not take; he is trivializing Juvenal. There is no question in the text of Latinus being the dread of husbands: "If the man who was once the best-known of adulterers now presents his stupid head to the head-harness for husbands, when he so often hid in the chest of Latinus in peril of his life".

41-2 set the theme; 43-4 develop it with reference to the adultery mime, 43 by means of a metaphor in which the husband is compared to an ox being led along by his wife and her lover, 44 by a picture of the lover lying in the chest, fearing detection, and trembling for his life. The humour of 43 is enhanced by the contrast of the grand V A B B A pattern with the comic subject-matter, see Appendix IA, example 483. The whole passage is crowned by the picture of Latinus shut up quaking in his chest.

quid quod et antiquis uxor de moribus illi	45
quaeritur? o medici, nimiam pertundite uenam.	46
delicias hominis! Tarpeium limen adora	47
pronus et auratam Iunoni caede iuuenam,	48
si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici.	49
paucae adeo Cereris uittas contingere dignae,	50
quarum non timeat pater oscula.	51

This section is linked to the preceding by an assumed reply to the implied point of the preceding section. Ursidius the adulterer should be the last person to want to be married. But he does, and is assumed to answer to those who find this strange that he is looking for something special, a wife antiquis de moribus.

There is a double-entendre in this expression: moribus is immediately assumed to have the meaning 'morality', i.e. 'who would not commit adultery'. But a more specialized meaning of antiquis de moribus is illustrated by Martial 11.104; it means 'who is reserved in sexual intercourse', and is contrasted with more active participation in sexual intercourse, going to the point of what might be considered 'abnormal' practices, in the Martial, for example, buggery:

Uxor vade foras aut moribus utere nostris:
 non sum ego nec Curius nec Numa nec Tatius.
 me iucunda iuvant tractae per pocula noctes;
 tu properas pota surgere tristis aqua.
 tu tenebris gaudes: me ludere teste lucerna
 et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus.
 fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant:
 at mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.
 basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:
 tu mihi das aviae qualia mane soles.
 nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare

nec digitis, tamquam tura merumque paras:
 masturbabantur Phrygii post ostia servi
 Hectoreo quotiens sederat uxor equo,
 et quamvis Ithaco stertente pudica solebat
 illic Penelope semper habere manum.
 pedicare negas: dabat hoc Cornelia Graccho,
 Iulia Pompeio, Porcia, Brute, tibi.
 dulcia Dardanio nondum miscente ministro
 pocula Iuno fuit pro Ganymede Iovi.
 si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto
 sis licet usque die, Laida nocte volo.

At 1.45 of the Juvenal, however, the reader is not yet aware of the double-entendre, and only has the first sense of moribus in mind.

In 1.49 Ursidius is told that he must sacrifice to the goddess of marriage in gratitude if he finds capitis matrona pudici. Caput pudicum may mean 'a chaste person', and matrona capitis pudici nothing more than 'a chaste matron'. But it can also mean 'a wife who is oris puri', i.e. who is not a fellatrix. Cf. M.2.42, 2.61.3, 3.81, 3.87. The alert reader may already begin to suspect that there was a pun in moribus, and capitis pudici already points to the sexual malpractice that Juvenal has in mind, fellatio.

In 50-1 comes the concluding epigram which resolves the deliberate ambiguity of moribus and capitis pudici. The reference in Cereris vittas contingere dignae is to the period of sexual abstinence before the annual festival of Ceres mentioned by Ovid, Met.10.431-35, and A. 3.10, but the point of the concluding epigram has been obscured by wrong punctuation. There should be no punctuation after dignae, no asyndeton. The sense is: "There are so few women worthy of touching the fillets of Ceres whose kisses their fathers do not fear", i.e. there

are few women who, when they have not had sexual relations of the normal kind, have not made obscene use of their mouths. The double-entendre of moribus and capitis pudici is thus solved. An epigram of Martial throws further light on this passage: M. 1.94:

cantasti male dum fututa es Aegle:

iam cantas bene: basianda non es.

Aegle, having to refrain from sexual intercourse for the sake of her singing voice, has recourse to fellatio. Juvenal's snide contention is that even if you find a girl who is able to abstain from ordinary sexual intercourse and so show some sexual control, she is sure to be making up for it by other sexual practices, notably fellatio. But what sounds like a heavy-handed joke when set down on paper may not appear so when presented by means of concealed double-entendres.

If we now look back at the link between 41-4 and 45-51, we discover how artificial it is. At the first reading, when antiquis moribus implies only faithfulness to the husband, the link is clear and obvious. But as the section develops to its conclusion, and moribus retrospectively acquires its more precise meaning, the link is seen to have been spurious (for it would imply that Ursidius is looking for a wife who is not a fellatrix!). But by that time it is of no importance. Juvenal has had his joke.

The supposed interlocutor's point is set out in $1\frac{1}{6}$ lines, quid quod ... quaeritur. This is then followed by a rhetorical build-up in which the satirist expresses surprise by means of two exclamations and the grand description of the sacrifice to Juno. This build-up ends with the two thematically important words, capitis ... pudici. Then in 50-1 comes the concluding sententia, solving the double-entendre, the final sting being in the last phrase, quarum ... oscula.

Housman in his apparatus criticus rightly points out the absurdity

of the usual interpretation: "Cereris vittas contingere dignas" interpretantur matronas quae "festa piaae Cereris annua" celebraturae "per novem noctes venerem tactusque viriles in vetitis numerent", Ovid. Met. 10.434.sq.: quasi vero hoc feminae pudendum sit et una cum oris impuritate ei expropriari possit, quod intra novem dies cum marito concubuerit.'

But failing to see the wrong punctuation and the double-entendre he proposes emendation, as does Giangrande, Eranos 63 (1965) 26-41.

For vittae in the cult of Ceres, see Le Bonniec, p. 420:

La tenue rituelle comportait aussi des vittae, c'est à dire des bandelettes sacrées réservées au clergé et aux initiés, comme "insigne de consécration aux dieux" ... Or il ne s'agit pas ici de vittae décorant les statuettes cultuelles de Cérès, mais sûrement ... des bandelettes sacerdotales que portaient les femmes dans la procession du sacrum Cereris.

necte coronam	51
postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos.	52
unus Hiberinae uir sufficit? oculus illud	53
extorquebis, ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.	54

The satirist now passes on to a new episode: it is assumed that the bride-to-be is one Hiberina, a woman who could not possibly be satisfied with one man. The satirist does not link this to the preceding section. Instead he makes a fresh start, by giving us a description of marriage preparations, in the form of an exhortation to the bridegroom to make such preparations. Once the marriage preparations are over, and the scene set, the bride comes in, Hiberina; the peculiar characteristic of Hiberina is then the subject of the rest of the section, 11.53-4. Although structurally necte coronam marks a fresh start, in that it is not linked structurally to what precedes, the theme of 51-4 could follow without hiatus upon 45-51 ... oscula: "Ursidius is looking for a wife who is especially virtuous; but he gets Hiberina, a woman of many men". By making a fresh structural start here, Juvenal obtains certain advantages; (1) he gets away from Ursidius, who has played his part and would now be of no use whatsoever, and (2) he can paint the picture of Hiberina against a background of marriage preparations and so give relief and sharpness to his point that Hiberina is a many-man woman. I explain: we see the preparations for marriage; we expect the cortège with bride and groom to appear; Hiberina appears; but does she appear with one bridegroom or more? This is the thought-process which the description of marriage preparations is meant to stimulate. And the immediacy of the present tense helps us to stay in the picture: "Is one man sufficient for Hiberina?"; translators have a tendency to change this present into a future. See

Ramsay, Green, Juvenal is making suggestively and visually the point made in so many words by Martial, 6.90:

Moechum Gellia non habet nisi unum.

Turpe est hoc magis: uxor est duorum.

Juvenal is also teasing us into making some mental equations, by his insistence on unus, uno, at the opening and close of the question and answer which form the body of this episode: "Is Hiberina satisfied with one husband? No; she'd sooner be satisfied with one eye", leads us to think: "The choice before Hiberina is one husband and two eyes, or one eye and ... two husbands". This point too, explicit in the Martial, is made suggestively in Juvenal.

This has not exhausted Juvenal's rich vein. There is also a pun on extorquere. Extorquere means (a) metaphorically, to prevail upon somebody to do something by exerting pressure on him (TLL II A 3 b); with that sense, ut oculo ... uno is a noun clause in apposition to illud; (b) literally, "to twist out" (TLL I A 2); with that sense, illud = "that thing", one of her eyes; and ut ... uno is a consecutive clause, "you will twist out that thing, as a result of which thing having been twisted out she will be content with one eye". A gruesome pun to some tastes, but cf. Martial 3.92:

ut patiar moechum rogat uxor, Galle, sed unum.

huic ego non oculos eruo, Galle, duos?

Again Juvenal is making more subtly, by means of a pun, the point that Martial makes more bluntly. Note again the play on numerals.

magna tamen fama est cuiusdam rure paterno	55
uiuentis. uiuat Gabiis ut uixit in agro,	56
uiuat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno.	57
quis tamen adfirmat nil actum in montibus aut in	58
speluncis? adeo senuerunt Iuppiter et Mars?	59

This section is linked to the preceding by opposition and contrast. Juvenal has just completed a section on Hiberina, a paragon of unchastity; someone is imagined as objecting that there is a girl living on her father's estate in the country who enjoys a high reputation for chastity. The theme thus introduced is that of the chastity of women living in the country, as opposed to the unchastity of women living in towns. Juvenal develops this idea in five lines which lead to the unexpected conclusion that in the country a woman's chastity may not be endangered by any man, but that one should not forget the gods.

The interest of the section is in (1) the conclusion, which is unexpected, irreverent, and humorously combines two common themes of poetry: the amours of the gods, often in a rustic setting, and the chastity of girls living in the country; and (2) the skill with which the satirist leads up to this conclusion:

11.55-6 ... viventis introduce the objection. At 56 Juvenal accepts the challenge and starts to argue that a girl living on her father's estate may indeed be reputedly chaste; there is no occasion for her to trespass there. But let her leave the country and live in even a very small village like Gabii or Fidenae, where there are temptations, however few, and she is sure to be corrupted. He starts at vivat, 1.56, an argument that was meant to run thus: "Let her live in Gabii, let her live in Fidenae as she lived on her estate (i.e. and keep her chastity unstained), and I shall then admit that her chastity is real". But this argument is never completed. The train of thought is

interrupted at Fidenis. The satirist started off by accepting that the woman in question had lived chastely in the country; but at Fidenis a new thought occurs to him; he goes back on the notion he had accepted by implication, that the woman living on her ancestral estate is necessarily chaste, and he says, paraphrased: "no, she need not go to Gabii or Fidenae; I grant that she go on living on her little paternal acre. Yet who will assure me that ..."

Juvenal makes the section lively by using an effective anacolouthon (interruptio, Q.9.2.54), by pretending to make a concession which merely helps him to score a point (concessio, Q.9.2.51).

The section starts grandiloquently, is interrupted in the middle of its course and takes a new direction which leads to a light-hearted parody of the fancies of imaginative poetry. Note speluncae and montibus which are part of the traditional picture of 'ideal rusticity', see commentary on montana uxor and spelunca, 11.5,3. The diminutive agello replaces rure paterno and agro to give the impression that Juvenal is imitating sarcastically the tone of voice of the admirer of the countryside, who talks about 'her little ancestral acre', the feigned tenderness fitting in with the feigned concession. Here, as in the opening lines of the poem, Juvenal is making fun of the notion that rustic life is a haven of chastity, by combining rustic elements of the 'ideal' life into a picture of the gods' amours, by fitting into one picture elements of disparate and conflicting literary themes.

The lack of seriousness of this passage does not need stressing. Juvenal is making a joke, a *littérateur's* joke. Unless we suppose that Juvenal really believed that the countryside was full of lewd gods.

The explanation of this passage which I have adopted is that of Gil Fernandez, Emerita 26 (1958) 77, which seems to me to be the best. Cf. Friedlaender ad.loc., Thierfelder, Hermes 76 (1941) 317, Heubner, Hermes 93 (1965) 352-4, Housman, app.crit.

porticibusne tibi monstratur femina uoto	60
digna tuo? cuneis an habent spectacula totis	61
quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis?	62
chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo	63
Tuccia uesicae non imperat, Apula gannit,	64
[sicut in amplexu, subito et miserabile longum.]	65
attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.	66

The way this section is linked to the preceding repays attention: the central consideration of the three sections contained in 11.45-59 has been the chastity (or otherwise) of the wife the husband-to-be would get. In 45-51, he looked for a chaste wife, and found a fellatrix; in 51-54 he looked for a chaste wife and found Hiberina, the two-man woman; in 55-59 he looked for a chaste wife in the country, but found that the gods had got there before him. I enumerate these instances to show that the "where?" in the last episode was incidental, or at least that it was secondary to the main idea that a chaste wife was impossible to find. The husband-to-be wants a chaste wife, and it is suggested in 55 that there is a chaste girl in the country. So the emphasis changes, imperceptibly, from "who would be a chaste wife?" to "where would a chaste wife be found?". It is this subtly introduced "where?" which is the link, for at the beginning of this section, in 60-2, two possible answers are suggested to the question "where?", and so the section is set on its course.

By suggesting two answers to the question "where?", Juvenal takes his listeners unquestioningly into the new section. But unquestioning for a while only. Soon they ask themselves: "It makes sense to suggest that the country is a good and traditional place to look for a chaste wife; but would anyone think of looking for a chaste wife in the porticoes and the theatres? Is there any reason why the women there

should be particularly chaste? Could it be that in asking these "wheres?" Juvenal has forgotten that it is primarily a chaste woman we are looking for?" If the listener then attends further to find out if we are still in fact looking for a chaste woman, the only words qualifying the desired woman he would find would be voto digna tuo, which would not satisfy him entirely. It is the tensions thus created in the listener's mind which would lead him to take Juvenal's point, which I now try to elucidate:

Editors used to refer to Ovid, A.A. 1 as a parallel for this section, see e.g. Prateus, Ruperti. The similarities between Ovid and Juvenal are such as to make it certain that Juvenal was deliberately using the matter of the A.A. and twisting it to suit his own purpose, that he expected his listeners to recognize the borrowing, and that part of the effectiveness of this section depends on the awareness on the part of the audience of this literary jeu.

In the A.A. Ovid tells his pupil that the first thing to do is to know where to find a mistress. There is no need to go far, he says; there are many suitable women in Rome:

seu caperis primis et adhuc crescentibus annis, 61

ante oculos veniet vera puella tuos;

sive cupis iuvenem, iuvenes tibi mille placebunt:

cogeris voti nescius esse tui.

seu te forte iuvat sera et sapientior aetas, 65

hoc quoque, crede mihi, plenius agmen erit.

tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra,

cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit,

aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater

addidit, externo marmore dives opus; 70

nec tibi vitetur quae priscis sparsa tabellis

porticus auctoris Livia nomen habet,

.

After the porticoes, the theatres:

sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatri; 89

haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo. 90

illic invenies quod ames, quod ludere possis,

quodque semel tangeris, quodque tenere velis.

ut redit itque frequens longum formica per agmen,

granifero solitum cum vehit ore cibum,

aut ut apes saltusque suos et olentia nactae 95

pascua per flores et thyma summa volant,

sic ruit ad celebres cultissima femina ludos;

copia iudicium saepe morata meum est.

spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae;

ille locus casti damna pudoris habet. 100

And in 491-502, he again returns to the theatres and porticoes:

seu pedibus vacuis illi spatiosa teretur

porticus, hic socias tu quoque iunge moras,

et modo praecedas facito, modo terga sequaris,

.

nec sine te curvo sedeat speciosa theatro: 497

quod spectes, umeris adferet illa suis.

illam respicias, illam mirere licebit,

multa supercilio, multa loquere notis;

et plaudas aliquam mimo saltante puellam,

et faveas illi, quisquis agatur amans.

The material is basically the same, but we can see how Juvenal has twisted Ovid for his own purpose: in both we have a man hunting for a woman; in both the searcher looks in the same places, the porticoes

and theatres; in both there is a male pantomime actor dancing a female part. But in Ovid the searcher is looking for amorous adventure; in Juvenal he is nominally looking for a chaste wife; but what is he doing in the theatres and porticoes? Juvenal's man, like Ovid's, is looking for his votum; we know what Ovid's man's votum is, but what about Juvenal's man's? Ovid's searcher is glad that the theatre is a place where pudor is often vanquished; Juvenal's pursuer deplores it, of course; Ovid's searcher joins in the spirit of the pantomime and hopes to use the woman's enjoyment of it to break down her resistance; Juvenal's searcher looks upon such enjoyment with moral disapproval; at this point we can ask him why he came into the theatre in the first place: after all Ovid's searcher was looking for quod ames ... quod tenere velis (see 11.91-2), whereas Juvenal's was looking for quod securus ames. By emphasising the question "where?" in his audience's minds, and by making them ask themselves, as analysed at the end of the first paragraph: "Is Juvenal interested more in the chase than in the chastity? What does voto digna tuo mean?", Juvenal is leading them towards the Ovid and expecting them to enjoy the ironical situation that comes about when a supposed moral satirist uses as his model a sex - manual.

The four lines 63-6 carefully build up towards the climax. The first line describes the dance. In the following two lines the actions of Tuccia and Apula are described in ascending order of vehemence; this leads to the anti-climactic attendit Thymele. And the surprise of the listener at Thymele's surprisingly restrained behaviour is dispelled by the humorous explanation: Thymele tunc rustica discit. Juvenal here again, as at 1.44, uses a mime character and a mime scene to humorous effect. Thymele here is not the mime-actress but the character played by Thymele in the mime, the adulterous wife. The

satirist means that an innocent girl would be corrupted by Bathyllus' dance and would leave the theatre fully instructed in the art of adultery; and he says all this in terms of the mime. Cf. e.g. Friedlaender's explanation that the mime-actress Thymele has come to look at Bathyllus' dance and learns her art from him!

The names used contribute to the effect, as editors used to point out. Tuccia is the name of a Vestal renowned for her virtue, see Val. Max. 8.1.5. For Apula and the virtue of Apulian women, see H. Epds. 2.41. While these two virtuous-named ladies are in the throes of sexual enjoyment, Thymele - a name renowned for adultery - is merely attentive. The names used enhance the surprise of the designedly anti-climactic description of what Thymele is doing.

Knoche's excision of subito ... Thymele and Clausen's excision of 65 both offer too drastic a solution to the problem of 11.65-6. In Knoche's text, Thymele tunc rustica discit is not sufficiently prepared for, and so falls flat; in Clausen's text attendit Thymele gives the impression of being one more item in a flat enumeration: Tuccia v. non imperat, Apula gannit, attendit Thymele, and does not have the anti-climactic effect it has if the unsensational activities of Thymele pull us down after an ascending dicolon. Housman's transposition of gannit and longum is attractive. But a slight change in punctuation is all that is necessary.

chironomon ledam molli saltante Bathyllo

Tuccia vesicae non imperat, Apula gannit,

sicut in amplexu, subitum et miserabile; longum

attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.

This is not a new punctuation. It is in fact a very old one, found in Lubinus, and suggested by Ruperti in his excursus on this passage in his edition of 1801. I also prefer subitum to subito because the

corruption to subito to produce spurious agreement with anplexu is more likely. I then explain 64-6 as follows:

The sight of Bathyllus' dance excites Tuccia sexually and her lubricating glands start functioning; (see commentary on 1.309 where the ancients' confusion of sexual and urinary terms is considered in detail); Apula yelps as in a man's embrace, suddenly and piteously. Apula, the satirist means to say, makes the kind of noise a woman makes during intercourse. Her excitement has gone one step beyond Tuccia's. Her yelp is sudden, just as a woman cries out suddenly when a male, after feeling round it, touches her on a sensitive erogenous spot. It is piteous, because the woman touched thus cries out (in fact in pleasure) just as if a sharp pain had suddenly been inflicted upon her. While Tuccia and Apula are feeling sexual joys in a rising dicolon, Thymele, in anti-climax, is looking at it all with calm attention: longum attendit Thymele. The enjambement enhances the surprise of attendit. Then the concluding witty and pungent sententia, explaining this strange calm. Thymele, i.e. the girl to be one day as libidinous as the wife in the adultery mime, is now still a naive country girl; but she is learning.

ast aliae, quotiens aulaea recondita cessant,	67
et uacuo clusoque sonant fora sola theatro,	68
atque a plebeis longe Megalesia, tristes	69
personam thyrsumque tenent et subligar Acci.	70

As we saw at the beginning of the preceding section, Juvenal leads us to the porticoes and theatres in search of a chaste wife, as we thought. Then it became clear that the object of the search for a chaste wife, which was the idea that led us into 60-6, was forgotten, and that the only part of the theme that remained was the 'search'. Having got us into the theatre in this way, Juvenal goes on about the vices of women who frequent the theatre, ast aliae providing the link with the preceding section. The 'search' which brought us into the theatre in the first place is forgotten.

ast aliae is the link with the preceding section. Then comes a long temporal clause, introduced by quotiens and making a tricolon. This clause builds up an impression of desolation: the curtains remain down and stay idle; the noises from the fora ring desolately in the empty and closed theatre; the next performance, for the ludi Megalesia, is still a long way off. Then comes the apodosis, describing what the theatre-mad women are doing in the midst of all this desolation: tristes reinforces the desolation; the women are fondly handling parts of the costume of Accius, the satyr-actor: his mask, his thyrsus, and ... his cache-sexe. By arranging the three objects of tenent in the pattern a, bque, verb et c, c, the cache-sexe, is isolated and emphasized, pointing humorously to where those women's real interest lies.

Urbicus exodio risum mouet Atellanae	71
gestibus Autonoes, hunc diligit Aelia pauper.	72
soluitur his magno comoedi fibula, sunt quae	73
Chrysogonum cantare uetent, Hispulla tragoedo	74
gaudet: an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur?	75
accipis uxorem de qua citharoedus Echion	76
aut Glaphyrus fiat pater Ambrosiusque choraules.	77

Having devoted four lines each to Bathyllus and Accius, Juvenal deals more briefly with other scenic actors after whom women lust, but in the description of each there is a note of humour. Urbicus is given two lines: the humour in his case resides in that Aelia has to be satisfied with a mere Atellan-farce actor because she cannot afford a more distinguished, and therefore presumably more expensive, actor. This lower-class actor playing Autonoe in an Atellane farce is given a grand spondaic ending. See appendix IA, example 46. The word containing the humour, pauper, is reserved for the very end. Again, in the case of the comedian, the humour is in the removing of the fibula, which was used to force actors and singers to sexual continence so as to preserve their voices, and that word is kept for the end. In the case of Chrysogonus and the tragedian, the humour is paradoxical, and the paradox is in both cases revealed in the last word. The admirers of Chrysogonus prevent him from singing, when we would expect them to do the reverse. Juvenal thus expresses in a pointed phrase the fact that Chrysogonus' admiratrices spoil his voice by having sexual intercourse with him. In the case of Hispulla, the paradox is in the juxtaposition of tragoedo and gaudet; of the ideas of tragedy and joy, and of the sounds tragoedo, gaudet.

an ... ametur asks whether the husband, who is now imagined to be a rhetorician, can expect to be loved. (For the interpretation of these

words, see below.) and the passage ends on the epigram: Quintilian the rhetorician may become a husband, but a musician will father his children. 11. 76-77 are the conclusion of the section on the theatre, which is itself made up of five parts:

1. 60-2 introduction: will you find a chaste wife in the theatre?
2. 63-6 Bathyllus' pantomime
3. 67-70 Accius' admirers
4. 71-5 ... gaudet Admirers of other artistes
5. 75 an expectas...-77 Your wife will be unfaithful with musicians, Quintilian.

Although there is more than one highlight in this section on the theatre, it is without doubt one whole, 75-7 harking back to 60-2. But while the husband with whom we started the section was nameless and featureless, in 75-7 he has acquired a name, Quintilian. That this is so, and why it is so, we shall now see.

Who is Quintilianus? The answer is simple and can be easily arrived at by glancing at the passages where Juvenal mentions him. This examination is necessary at this point on account of W.S. Anderson's examination of this passage in his article Juvenal and Quintilian in Yale Classical Studies 17 (1961). His conclusion on this passage is as follows:

In other words, Juvenal asks in his typically hyperbolic manner: How can you expect a wife to ignore the attractions of the Greek actors when her husband is a retired old 'performer', devoid of any power to interest her?

Anderson and other scholars have tried to draw conclusions about Juvenal's relationship with or attitude to Quintilian from an examination of passages in Satires 6 and 7 where Quintilianus appears. Let us look

first at Satire 7, which reveals most vividly what Juvenal means by Quintilianus:

7.186-90: hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano
 ut multum duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
 constabit patri quam filius. "unde igitur tot
 Quintilianus habet saltus". exempla novorum
 fatorum transi. felix et pulcher et acer ...

It has been assumed that in this passage the Quintilian of 1.186 is the same as the Quintilian of 1.189. Anderson, for example, writes:

In this case (11. 184-8), Juvenal seems to cite Quintilian as a typical rhetorician, miserably paid despite his deserts. But before we can settle down with such an assumption, the satirist raises a question which leads to the exposure of Quintilian as the most atypical of rhetoricians. (here Anderson quotes 11. 189-94).

This interpretation of this passage, if we can call it an interpretation, does not make sense. If it were right, Juvenal would be taking Quintilian in 186 as the typical example of a state of affairs, and then in 1.189-90 would be taking the same Quintilian as an exception to the same rule which Quintilian exemplified in 186. Rather, Quintilian in 186 is the typical rhetorician, Juvenal using a famous rhetorician's name as an equivalent for 'a rhetorician', 'the typical rhetorician'. And 11. 186-7 mean, in effect, 'rhetoricians are poorly paid'. The Quintilian of 11. 189-96 is of course the real historical Quintilian; and Juvenal means that the real Quintilian is an exception to the rule which applies to ordinary rhetoricians, present-day Quintilians. This play on two meanings of Quintilian is meant to be humorous. More precisely, it is a humorous use of the figure of speech 'metonymy'. To realize this is to appreciate the full meaning

and at the same time the 'level of intent' of the whole passage; it is light-hearted.

Let us now look at 6.279 where Quintilianus again appears:

sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. dic,
dic aliquem sodes hic Quintiliane colorem.

Juvenal is making the point in this passage that women's impudence is such that even if they are caught in adultery they will find some plausible excuse for their actions. And to emphasize their skill at inventing such plausible excuses he introduces a character, Quintilian. Here too Quintilian is no more than a name for 'the typical rhetorician'. Rhetoricians are the people who on account of their profession should be most skilful at inventing colores. It follows therefore that if a woman can be shown to be even more skilled than a rhetorician in this respect, Juvenal's point about their impudence will have been established with complete rhetorical effectiveness. It is only to provide the required comparison that Quintilian is introduced here; and Quintilian is no more than 'the typical rhetorician'. It is therefore idle to find in this passage any indication of Juvenal's opinion of or attitude to the real Quintilian.

In the passage with which this examination started, 6. 75-7, the first thing that must be realized is that Quintilianus is the name of the husband (or rather prospective husband) of the woman who is under attack at this point, and that an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur is equivalent to an expectas ut Quintiliane ameris. Unless we accept this interpretation, which gives us a triangle, husband/Quintilian, wife, lover/musician, we find ourselves involved with four characters, the husband (whom Juvenal addresses), the wife, Quintilian, the lover/musician; and in ll. 75-7 Juvenal, speaking to the husband, would in effect be saying: "Do you think that your wife will take a rhetorician

for a lover? No, she will take a musician", which implies that it is a mark of fidelity to have a rhetorician rather than a musician for a lover. For it is fidelity that is at issue here, not whether the wife shows good taste in her choice of lovers.

There is certainly a harshness of style involved in the suddenness with which Quintilianus is introduced, and there is also a harshness of language. But the sudden introduction is due to Juvenal's desire to create a rhetorically effective situation, and this has to be done, in Juvenal's manner, within a short space and as economically as possible. We have seen this habit of Juvenal's of introducing characters which create a rhetorically interesting situation in the case of Ursidius in 1.38, who is introduced and disappears with equal suddenness, after being a dives orbus and a moechus; also in the case of Hiberina; and below in the case of Lentulus. In all these cases, the introduction of the character who creates the interesting situation is unprepared for. The husband or the wife is made to assume one name after another to provide one interesting situation after another. This is just what happens here when the husband suddenly assumes the name Quintilianus.

As for the lack of clarity of the language, it can easily be understood that since the new character is introduced as economically as possible, the resulting concision of expression can lead to harshness. In 1.144 Juvenal wishes to transform a greedy man who does not feed his amici into a greedy dives orbus, and he tries to do this as economically as possible and produces the line hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus, thereby sacrificing clarity of expression to create a humorous situation, and in the process writing a verse which has been misunderstood and emended. (See Madvig (I), Housman (II), Nisbet). But how does the introduction of Quintilianus create an

interesting situation? The answer is provided by Juvenal himself,
7.175-7:

tempta

Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti
lautorum pueros, artem scindes Theodori.

which shows that traditional rivalry existed between professional
rhetoricians and musicians, that they competed for pupils and fees.

See also M.5.56:

cui tradas, Lupe, filium magistro
quaeris sollicitus diu rogasque.
omnes grammaticosque rhetorasque
devites, moneo: nihil sit illi
cum libris Ciceronis aut Maronis;
famae Tutilium suae relinquo;
si versus facit, abdicet poetam.
artes discere vult pecuniosas?
fac discat citharoedus aut choraules;
si duri puer ingeni videtur,
praeconem facias vel architectum.

Musicians and rhetoricians can therefore readily be made to stand in
antithesis, and it is this possibility that Juvenal exploits both in
7.175-7, and here. Since the prospective lover here is a musician
(and our survey of the theatre has taken us to musicians) Echion,
Glaphyrus, or Ambrosius, the situation is made rhetorically sharper
if the husband is the traditional rival of musicians, a rhetorician,
Quintilian. Here too, Quintilian = the typical rhetorician, and
attempts like Anderson's at finding hidden attitudes to Quintilian are
idle and produce spurious results.

longa per angustos figamus pulpita uicos,	78
ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,	79
ut testudineo tibi, lentule, conopeo	80
nobilis Euryalum murmillonem exprimat infans.	81

There is a clear thematic link between this section and the preceding: the child is not the husband's; in the preceding section it was a singer's, in the present, the gladiator's. The common element, the adulterer's child, leads us from the stage and singers to the arena and gladiators. While there is thus a thematic link with the preceding section, there is not a structural link. Juvenal introduces the section by describing magnificent preparations for a wedding, a description parallel to those in 1.25 and 1.52. At 52 I tried to show that the vivid and immediate description of marriage preparations prompted the audience to wonder whether Hiberina would appear with more than one husband. Here the picture of grandiose wedding preparations leads us to the picture of the birth of a child - a natural sequence, at least in the context of Roman marriage. Catullus 61, for example, after going through all the different stages of the Roman marriage ends with the birth of a child, whose close resemblance to his father shows Aurunculeia's chastity; Juvenal produces here a parody of this theme of the epithalamion. After the wedding preparations comes the birth of the child, and he too is the exact image of his father, but in this case the father is not the husband.

To look at the style of the passage: it starts with a mock-grand line, describing ironically the sumptuous preparations in a V A B B A line, see Appendix IA, example 140. Note the emphasis on scale and size in the description of these preparations, picked out by the contrast longa pulpita/angustos vicos. The same irony in the following line, again mock-grand, with ironical emphasis on size: the door-posts

and door are adorned with grand laurel, large laurel, see Appendix IB on grandis, p. 81. In 80 too the same grand style is kept up; the spondaic ending embodies the clash between the sound of the grand conoepo and its meaning, 'mosquito-net', see Appendix IA, example 216. The expensive tortoise-shell decorations of the mosquito-net add to this ironical description of riches. I take conoepo to mean 'mosquito-net' and not the cradle. The only reason the meaning 'cradle' has been adopted, as far as I can see, is that a tortoise-shell mosquito-net is a strange thing. I think the expression means that the frame which holds up the actual netting is made of tortoise-shell. The desire to bring together the expensive tortoise-shell and the exotic conoepo (an Egyptian object, and a Greek loan-word) accounts for the slightly odd expression.

There is humorously ironical tension between the grand preparations and their outcome; also, between nobility and low life. The theme of nobility is introduced suddenly in 80, when we find that these grand preparations are being made by a Lentulus; in other words, Juvenal now imagines that the husband-to-be is a Lentulus, and his reason for doing so is to provide a neat antithesis between the noble husband Lentulus and the base lover, who is a gladiator. (Cf. his introduction of Quintilianus, 1.75).

I prefer the reading Euryalum aut murmillonem. The evidence of the MSS. is neatly balanced. My preference for Euryalum aut springs from my suspicion that Euryalus is a retiarius. Jean Colin has argued convincingly that in the other instance in this satire where gladiators are named, the names are significant, and refer to the armatura (1.365.0 9) It is not therefore pointless to try and find a significance for Euryalus. The characteristic of the fighting technique of the retiarius which differentiated him most from his heavy-armed opponent, Thrax,

Gallus or murmillo (for which see Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. gladiator) was that he frequently and quite normally had to take to his heels, once his net had been thrown and he had no weapons with which he could face his heavy-armed opponent. Juvenal dwells on this in 2.143-4:

vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi,
lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator harenam

and in 8.199-206, where the arm of the retiarius and that of the heavy-armed gladiator (murmillo and thrax) are contrasted:

et illic

dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis in armis
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina.
damnat enim talis habitus; sed damnat et odit,
nec galea faciem abscondit: movet ecce tridentem.
postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula voltum
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.

This peculiarity of the fighting technique of the retiarius seems to have in some cases in real life influenced the names they were given. Louis Robert, referred to by Colin, contains the following names of retiarii: Καλλιόδορος (Robert p. 139, no. 89), Ὠκυσ, (p.215, no. 257), Rapidus (Dessau 5119). We also find the name Ὀξύπτερος Robert, Hellenica, 3. p.138. Euryalus would then be a significant name, referring to the fleetness of foot of the retiarius; Euryalus is the winner of the foot-race in Aeneid 5.

Euryalum aut murmillonem would then mean 'a retiarius or a murmillo', each representing one the light-armed, the other the heavy-armed type of gladiator. The substitution of Euryalus for retiarius adds interest to the line, by the piquancy of the epic reference, and the humorous imbalance paralleled by 13.249, nec surdum nec Teresian.

The choice of a heroic name for the gladiator would not be incompatible with actual practice. Robert p. 299 lists names of gladiators taken from Epic or mythology: Αἰδς, Αμφιάρδος, Πολυδευκης, Τυνδαρεus, Κεκροψ.

Euryalum aut murmillonem is also the lectio difficilior.

The section ends on an ironical note: "so that under his tortoise-shell mosquito-net, Lentulus, the noble infant should mirror forth for you Euryalus or a murmillo". nobilis is ironical: the infant is noble, in law but not in blood.

nupta senatori comitata est Eppia ludum	82
ad Pharon et Nilum famosaque moenia Lagi	83
prodigia et mores urbis damnante Canopo.	84

The next 32 verses, ll. 82-113 are about the story of Eppia and Sergiolus. The anecdote serves to illustrate the general point made about gladiators and women in ll. 78-81. Those thirty verses form one unified section, being on one theme. But this unified section is easily subdivided into seven sub-sections of unequal length, each one having its own humorous point.

The first such sub-section is only three lines long, ll. 82-4.

The first line gives us a piece of information which will be picked up at the end of the whole section: it indicates the social gap between Eppia and her lover, and tells us that Eppia, a senator's wife, followed a gladiatorial school to Egypt. The climax or point of this epigram is prepared for in the second line: proper names are piled up in a tricolon containing a congeries of details describing Alexandria by circumlocution in the epic style. The grandiloquent tone thus set is easily carried on into the next line which looks as if it is going to be on a high moral plane, all the way down to the last word but one: prodigia et mores urbis damnante ...

The last word, Canopo, comes unexpectedly. The surprise caused by the appearance of the name of the town which was a model of immorality and luxury (cf. 15.46, Sen. Ep. 51.3), when we have been led by the tone of what precedes to expect some austere moral judge, is a humorous *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

inmemor illa domus et coniugis atque sororis	85
nil patriae indulsit, plorantisque improba natos	86
utque magis stupeas ludos Paridemque reliquit.	87

In this sub-section the satirist deals with those whom Eppia left behind. The humour here depends on the anti-climax in ludos Paridemque. In 1.85 and the first half of 86 there is a congeries: the emotive effect depends simply on the piling up of the names of persons and things left behind: domus, coniugis, sororis, patriae. The children, however, are given an emotive epithet, plorantis natos, and the pathos of the situation is increased by the improba which is inserted between the epithet and the noun: plorantis improba natos. This last item consequently marks a definite increase of emotion over the first four enumerated in 85 and the first half of 86. Utque magis stupeas at the beginning of 87 prepares us for a new increase in emotion, a step above plorantisque improba natos. What we get instead is the anti-climax ludos Paridemque reliquit. The syntactical structure of the section also enhances the effect. The first four items are grouped together in one syntactical unit. The fifth item, plorantis natos is at the beginning of a new syntactical unit so that the reader's mind is in suspense; this suspense is increased by the parenthetical utque magis stupeas, and the completion of the syntactical unit which the mind has been waiting for coincides with the anti-climax in sense.

sed quamquam in magnis opibus plumaque paterna	88
et segmentatis dormisset paruula cunis,	89
contempsit pelagus; famam contempserat olim,	90
cuius apud molles minima est iactura cathedras.	91

This four-line sub-section is about Eppia's actual departure, which is described in l.90: contempsit pelagus. ll.88-9 are a preparation for this, and ll.90-1 famam ... cathedras are a comment upon it.

Juvenal wishes to emphasize Eppia's unnatural boldness and courage in undertaking this sea-voyage. He does this by emphasizing for the sake of contrast the softness, luxury, and ease of Eppia's previous life. Almost every word in ll. 88-9 contributes to this effect: softness and security: pluma paterna; wealth: magnis opibus; segmentatis cunis; weakness: paruula; the peculiar helplessness of sleep: dormisset cunis. The two lines 88-9 therefore provide the right contrast for the bold action expressed by contempsit pelagus. The boldness of the action is reflected in the straightforward and direct expression, a terse, two-word clause.

Having raised the tone to this pitch, Juvenal now lowers it with humorous effect, in three words, famam contempserat olim; the implied zeugma, contempsit famam et pelagus, and the repeated contemno in two different tenses, suggest that contemnere pelagus is a far greater crime than contemnere famam. This effect is produced in the space of five words, contempsit pelagus; famam contempserat olim, by clever use of repetition, chiasmus, and asyndeton.

The concluding epigram, cuius apud ... cathedras harks back to the softness of the beginning, amongst which the baby girl slept. As a girl grows up and out of her soft-feathered bed into a soft cathedra, in the midst of such luxury - Juvenal implies - she is not bothered by the loss of a little thing like her reputation. iactura is alive in

the context. When one has so much, one can lose something of little value like one's reputation.

The tie-up between the soft litter of the grown woman and the soft cradle of the baby fits in with Juvenal's point that the surprising and remarkable thing about Eppia's escapade was not that, with such an upbringing, she should be immoral, but that she would be so tough as to go sailing the seas. The soft cradle, he implies, would in fact be an indication of immorality to come, when the girl passed from the cradle to the litter. Translations like the following completely lose the point, that for a girl reared in softness immorality is the expected thing, once she is old enough, and that it is the toughness that is surprising:

P. Green: Luxury-reared, cradled by Daddy in swansdown,
 Brought up to frills and flounces, Eppia nevertheless
 Made as light of the sea as she did of her reputation -
 Not that our pampered ladies set any great store by that.

Ramsay: Though born in wealth, though as a babe she had slept
 in a bedizened cradle on the paternal down, she made
 light of the sea, just as she had long made light of
 her good name - a loss but little accounted for among
 our soft litter-riding dames.

Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus lateque sonantem	92
pertulit Ionium constanti pectore, quamuis	93
mutandum totiens esset mare.	94

After the setting-out in 88-91, the voyage itself is described in one sentence ending on a humorous note.

11. 92-4 give an impressive description of the voyage: it is pictured as being a bold and grand enterprise. Each word in Tyrrhenos ... pectore contributes to the effect: (a) the seas are named to heighten the tone of the narrative; (b) the seas are mentioned one after the other in such a way as to form a congeries; (c) the Ionian sea is impressively described as late sonantem Ionium; (d) the courage needed for the enterprise is implied in pertulit, constanti pectore. After such an impressive build-up we expect quamvis to introduce the description of great dangers. Instead the tone is lowered abruptly and humorously by the facetious mutandum totiens esset mare; a bold enterprise this, to change from sea to sea. Juvenal here deliberately undercuts his own rhetorical effects. The light-heartedness of this surprising conclusion is reinforced by the play on words: constanti pectore/mutandum mare; the seas vary, but her courage is constant.

The unexpected ending, and the play on words, are both thrown away in translations like the following:

P. Green: Boldly she faced this long and arduous voyage,
The chop and toss of Tuscan waters, the loud
Ionian swell.

Ramsay: And so with stout heart she endured the tossing and
 the roaring of the Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas, and
 all the many seas she had to cross.

ll. 94-102, further illustrating constanti pectore, contain general comments on the voyage of Eppia, and contrast her behaviour with that of wives who go on a sea-voyage with their husbands. Those comments form three pairs of antithetical sentences. The first such pair is contained in ll. 94-7:

iusta pericli	94
si ratio est et honesta, timent pauidoque gelantur	95
pectore nec tremulis possunt insistere plantis:	96
fortem animum praestant rebus quas turpiter audent.	97

The wife's fears are rhetorically exaggerated by means of a tricolon, with the fears becoming more humorous in each colon. This deliberately unsuitable use of a high declamatory tone in a humorous context - unsuitable, that is, if it were used to describe real fears - reflects the exaggerated nature of the wife's fears. The adulteress's action is described in a one-line sententia, stylistically and rhetorically perfect, praestant ... turpiter audent being in exact antithesis to iusta ... honesta, and fortem animum to the tricolon timent ... plantis. The space devoted to each woman's actions is of semantic significance: the long, declamatory description of the wife's actions expresses her exaggerated histrionics; the comparatively short sententia reflects, in contrast, the adulteress's quiet determination.

We now come to the second pair of antithetical sentences:

si iubeat coniunx, durum est conscendere nauem,	98
tunc sentina grauis, tunc summus uertitur aer;	99
quae moechum sequitur, stomacho ualet.	100

where the treatment of both women does not differ in essentials from their treatment in 94-7 above. Again the satirist uses the tone of declamatory rhetoric to exaggerate the self-dramatization of the wife's malaise to the point where it becomes humorous. Again her actions are

described in an ascending tricolon, and again the humour increases in each colon. The declamatory tone is achieved by anaphora of tunc in the last two cola, with ellipse of est in the second. The adulteress is again given a pungent sententia in perfect antithesis: si iubeat coniunx/quae moechum sequitur; durum ... aer/stomacho valet. Here too the space allotted to each woman is of semantic significance: the wife's exaggerated nausea fills a tricolon, the adulteress's staunchness is expressed in a terse sententia.

We come to the last pair of sentences:

illa maritum	100
conuomit, haec inter nautas et prandet et errat	101
per puppem, et duros gaudet tractare rudentes.	102

In the two preceding sections, the wife made a nuisance of herself by exaggerating first her fears, then her nausea. She is now no longer able to perform histrionics, but has enough malice and sang-froid left to be sick not at random, but on her husband. This ultimate piece of malice is expressed humorously and economically in three words. The adulteress, on the other hand, who has been quietly brave until now, can at last let herself go, and joins the sailors (inter nautas is to be taken into each of the three cola of the tricolon) in their activities in an ascending tricolon. convomit maritum and inter nautas ... rudentes are in antithesis, maritum to inter nautas, convomit to the activities described in the tricolon. While the adulteress is sharing her activities with the sailors, the wife is concentrating all her attention on her husband, which is as it should be; except that in this case the husband would no doubt gladly be spared such attentions. This is all implied in Juvenal's antithesis, coming as it does after the more straightforward antitheses in the two preceding pairs.

Here too the space allotted to each woman is semantically

significant; the scope of the wife's activity is drastically reduced; she accordingly gets three words. The adulteress's scope of activity is widened; she in her turn gets a tricolon. There is progress in the action between the three antitheses (a), (b), and (c): the wife passes from (a) fear, as she comes on board, to (b) nausea, as the ship sets sail, (c) sea-sickness, as the voyage gets under way; while the adulteress at the same time passes from (a) determination, to (b) strong stomach, to (c) active enjoyment. And the change from fearful activity to immobility in the case of the wife, and from inaction to joyful activity in the case of the adulteress is reflected in the reversed scheme:

- (a) tricolon for wife followed by sententia for adulteress
- (b) tricolon for wife followed by sententia for adulteress
- (c) sententia for wife followed by tricolon for adulteress.

qua tamen exarsit forma, qua capta iuuenta	103
Eppia? quid uidit propter quod ludia dici	104
sustinuit? nam Sergiolus iam radere guttur	105
coeperat et secto requiem sperare lacerto;	106
praeterea multa in facie deformia, sicut	107
attritus galea mediisque in naribus ingens	108
gibbus et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.	109
sed gladiator erat. facit hoc illos Hyacinthos;	110

Juvenal now turns his attention to Sergius, the gladiator with whom Eppia ran away, and first of all discusses his physical appearance. This sub-section is introduced by two questions, asking whether it was Sergius' beauty and youth that attracted Eppia. These are followed by a description of Sergius' incredible ugliness. We are told that he was getting old: this is shown by two characteristics: his voice was getting weak and thin like an old man's (on radere guttur, see below), and he was nearing retiring age and a welcome rest for his hacked arms. In addition to the deformities of old age, his face was itself ugly. He had a big hump on the middle of his nose, which was constantly rubbed by the helmet, and always had some acid humour dripping from his eyes.

I digress here on a textual point; in the analysis above I follow Clausen's text, because I can find no cogent reason for departing from the MS. tradition. I must admit, however, that I find Nisbet's sulcus in place of sicut very attractive, as it would produce a very satisfying enumeration of the deformia in an ascending tricolon: sulcus ... galea, mediis ... gibbus, et acre ... ocelli, in the pattern a, bque, et c.

After the rhetorical build-up of Sergius' ugliness, his attractiveness in Eppia's eyes is explained in three words, sed gladiator erat,

and the sub-section ends with the humorous epigram, facit hoc illos Hyacinthos, the beauty of the mythological Hyacinthus being solemnly evoked by the uu--verse-ending (see appendix IA, example 5, but, in the context, derisively evoked, the style being mock-grand. Quite apart from the stylistic effectiveness of this conclusion, but at the same time supplementing it, there is a point to Hyacinthos which editors do not mention but which is vital. The concluding epigram does not merely mean "this is what makes these people appear beautiful", it means in addition "it is because they are gladiators that they can call themselves by fancy names like Hyacinthus". Those two meanings, which I have separated for convenience, are of course inseparable. But we must grasp both meanings mentally if the epigram is to be thrown into relief; and the essential point here is that gladiators did call themselves by names like Hyacinthus. The name Hyacinthus, like Euryalus in 1.81, refers to the actual practice of the gladiatorial schools. Louis Robert, Les Gladiateurs, discussing the names of gladiators, points out on p. 301 that it was common practice for gladiators to choose names that referred to their physical attractiveness: e.g. Καλλιμορφος twice in inscriptions in Robert's book. He also refers to a Callimorphus, secunda rudis, in CIL 13 1749, and to a retiarius called Callimorphus on a mosaic in S. Reinach RPRG 286 3. He also lists names chosen from mythology: there are three examples of Ναρκισσος, one Υλας, one Υακινθος.

iam radere guttur coeperat. The traditional explanation and translation of those words is wrong. The common explanation is Friedlaender's, derived from Marquardt's Privatleben. Friedlaender's note reads:

in Ciceros Zeit und wahrscheinlich auch vorher und
nachher trugen jüngere Leute einen zierlich gestutzten

Bart, und erst vom 40 Jahre rasirte man ihn ganz ab.

Der Sinn ist also: Sergius war nicht mehr jung ...

and Green still follows this when he writes:

her Sergius was no chicken, forty at least ...

But Marquardt's account of the shaving habits of the Romans is based on wrong interpretation of his evidence. Carcopino (Daily Life in Ancient Rome, ch. 6, par. 3) who examines the question at length shows beyond doubt that clean shaving was the normal practice until the habit of growing the beard was introduced, or rather reintroduced, by Hadrian. This is confirmed by a look at the plates in, eg., Mattingly's Roman Coins, where it will be seen that all the emperors before Hadrian are clean-shaven. All the interpretations of l.105 that are based on Marquardt can therefore be rejected without hesitation. There is no doubt however that those words are meant to indicate that Sergius was no longer a young man, that he was in fact getting rather old and decrepit. The reference may therefore be to a common affliction of old age: the weakening of the voice.

That guttur can be used of the interior of the throat is beyond doubt. See TLL, s.v., and especially Persius, 1. 16-8:

et natalicia tandem cum sardonyche albus
sede leges celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
mobile conlueris

Persius, 5. 5-6:

quorsum haec? aut quantas robusti carminis offas
ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti

Val. Max. 9. 12 Ext. 6:

ac protinus urbanitatem dicti crebro anhelitu
cachinnorum prosecutus senile guttur
salebris spiritus gravavit

and radere is used of the effect of the voice on the throat by
Lucretius, 4. 528-9:

praeterea radit vox fauces saepe facitque
asperiora foras gradiens arteria clamor

Quintilian, 11.3.13:

bona enim firmaque (voce) ut volumus uti licet:
mala vel imbecilla et inhibet multa, ut insurgere
et exclamare, et aliqua cogit, ut intermittere et
deflectere, et rasas fauces ac latus fatigatum
deformi cantico reficere.

Quintilian, 11.3.20:

item fauces tumentes strangulant vocem, obtusae
obscurant, rasae exasperant, convulsae fractis
sunt organis similes.

Juvenal means that Sergius was getting so old that his voice was
becoming weak and strained. This peculiarity of old men's voices
is observed by Juvenal 10. 198-9:

una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra
et iam leve caput, madidique infantia nasi.

hoc pueris patriaeque, hoc praetulit illa sorori 111
 atque uiro. ferrum est quod amant. hic Sergius idem 112
 accepta rude coepisset Veiento uideri. 113

There should be a full stop after Hyacinthos. On the printed page the three hoc lead the eye to run on. But the reciter's voice can and should mark a strong stop after Hyacinthos. The theme of Sergius's ugliness culminates at Hyacinthos. Now the satire makes a new start; hoc ... hoc is ambivalent; at first we take the pronouns to be parallel to hoc in 110, meaning 'the fact that they are gladiators', then we come to ferrum est quod amant, which pinpoints the gladiator's attractiveness with absolute precision, and so attracts the point of reference of the two hoc forward: hoc ... hoc ... ferrum. It is not merely the fact that they are gladiators that is the secret of their attraction; it is, more precisely, their sword. Having focused attention in this way on the sword, Juvenal by word manipulation shows how fickle the woman is: accepta rude picks up ferrum: let wooden foil replace iron sword and the woman will look upon her gladiator as upon a ... Veiento.

Veiento uideri is a striking παρά προδοκίαν. As the preceding passage is all about physical beauty, it has been inferred that Veiento must be an ugly person. But at 3.185 Veiento is associated with Cossus, who appears as the typical noble in 8.21. That Veiento should be used as a type of a noble from the ruling classes is easily understandable. Aulus Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento, who appears as a historical figure, not a type, in Satire 4, had a very distinguished political career, and was, notably, three times consul. See Syme, Tacitus, Appendix 5, for his full career. See Plin. Ep. 2.1.2 for the distinction of the three consulships. And the poem of Statius, quoted by Valla, of which Satire 4 is believed to be a parody:

Stat. Germ. 1-3:

Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi,
et Fabius Veiento - potentem signat utrumque
purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos -

So, instead of getting what we would expect 'would have begun to look like an ugly person', we have 'would have begun to look like ... a distinguished noble'. The $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$ contains therefore a sarcastic reference to Eppia's leanings towards men of low social status, and looks to a point made at the very beginning of the Sergius/Eppia episode in 1.82: nupta senatori comitata est Eppia ludum. Unawareness of Juvenal's humour has led editors badly astray: Friedlaender thinks that Veiento must be either the type of an old and ugly man, or Eppia's husband. One or other or both of these explanations is adopted by Duff, Green, PW, Labriolle et Villeneuve, PIR¹ and PIR², Ramsay.

The significance of Veiento grasped, we can see that 111-3, which is the concluding sub-section of the Sergius/Eppia episode, refers back to the beginning. Pueris, patriae, sorori, viro at the end correspond chiastically to coniugis, sororis, patriae, natos in 85-7; and the $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$ with Veiento refers back to nupta senatori ... ludum at the beginning.

quid priuata domus, quid fecerit Eppia, curas?	114
respice riuales diuorum, Claudius audi	115
quae tulerit, dormire uirum cum senserat uxor,	116
sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos	118
ausa Palatino et tegetem praeferre cubili	117
linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una.	119
sed nigrum flauo crinem abscondente galero	120
intrauit calidum ueteri centone lupanar	121
et cellam uacuum atque suam; tunc nuda papillis	122
prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae	123
ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, uentrem.	124
excepit blanda intrantis atque aera poposcit.	125
[continueque iacens cunctorum absorbuisset ictus.]	126
mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas	127
tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam	128
clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine uoluae,	129
et lassata uiris necdum satiata recessit,	130
obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae	131
foeda lupanaris tulit ad puluinar odorem.	132

At l. 114, Juvenal passes from the Eppia/Sergius episode to the story of Messalina. The link is purely formal: the contrast between the imperial family and privati. (See Friedlaender's note.) The humour of the passage stems from the brilliantly sustained ironical tone and the mock-grandeur of Juvenal's style.

The received text of ll. 115-20 leaves something to be desired. The asyndeton at 118 is pointless. For the analysis which follows I have adopted the transposition and reconstruction proposed by Courtney BICS 13 (1966) 39 which seems to offer a satisfactory explanation and an economical solution; and to be stylistically effective:

quid privata domus, quid fecerit Eppia curas?	114
respice rivalet divorum, Claudius audi	115
quae tulerit, dormire virum cum senserat uxor	116

ausa Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili	117
linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una.	119
sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos	118
[non erubuit]	118a
sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero	120
intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar	121
et cellam vacuum atque suam; tunc nuda papillis	122
prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae	123
ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem.	124
excepit blanda intrantis atque aera poposcit,	125
continueque iacens cunctorum absorbuit ictus.	126
mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas	127
tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam	128
clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine volvae,	129
et lassata viris necdum satiata recessit,	130
obscurisque genis turpis, fumoque lucernae	131
foeda, lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem.	132

The note of irony and pseudo-grandeur is struck in the two-line introduction. The declamatory tone is established by the rhetorical question in 114; the anaphora quid ... quid; the short imperatival sentences in asyndeton, respice ... audi; and the irony of respice rivalet divorum, (note that divi=Divus Claudius, rivalet divorum=the clients of the brothel who enjoyed Messalina's favours, and so were Claudius' rivals) ironical because of the juxtaposition of divorum and its connotations of majesty and sanctity, with rivalet and its connotations of commonplace amatory intrigue, is reinforced by the impressive sound of the sentence, obtained by the reiterated r and v sounds in respice rivalet divorum, and the echo Claudius audi.

This ironical clash of the majestic with the vulgar and obscene

is sustained throughout: tegetem/Palatino; meretrix/Augusta; generose Britannice/ostendit tuum ventrem; pulvinar/lupanaris. This clash in subject-matter is enhanced by a different but related type of clash: that between a vulgar and obscene theme - a brothel scene - and a high stylistic level: we have already seen evidence of the high declamatory style in 114-5. In 118-24 there are four verses constructed on the V A B B A pattern, for which see appendix IA, examples 229-32, ll. 118, 120, 121, 124. This gives those seven verses a particularly high rhetorical tone. Note moreover that two of those verses on a V A B B A pattern, ll. 118 and 124, contain within themselves the clash in subject-matter mentioned above: meretrix/Augusta; generose Britannice/tuum ventrem ostendit.

As the essential component of the story seems to be high style in humorous conflict with obscene subject-matter, it seems to me that we get a much more satisfying sentence if we remove the square brackets within which Knoche and Clausen imprison l. 126. If 126 is bracketed, 125 stands on its own, odd and unsatisfactory, from the point of view of style. If we accept 126 as genuine, we have three clauses in ascending order, with the obscenity coming in the last one-verse clause. This reads well, like Juvenal, and fits in with the high rhetorical tone. Jachmann (Nach. Ak. Wiss. Gött. Phil. Hist. Klass., 6. 1943) proposes to bracket 125 and keep 126. This gives no satisfactory rhetorical effect. It is rather destructive of such effect. The ironical l. 124 is in its place at the end of a section. As a concluding sententia it is highly effective. Tack 126 on to 124 and 124 loses half its quality, and so does 126. Whereas if we keep 125, 124 gains in quality, and 125 prepares the reader for 126 which in turn gains in effectiveness.

ll. 127-9 prepare us with a wealth of detail for the point which is made in the form of a terse sententia, with paronomasia and

antithesis, in l.130: et lassata viris necdum satiata recessit.

There is a slight pause at this point before the satirist launches into his two-line finale in 131-2. Here we have first an isocolon with assonance in

obscurisque genis turpis/fumoque lucernae foeda = 8 syllables

and these are the first two limbs of an ascending tricolon in the last colon of which,

lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem,

we have the ironical sententia which concludes the whole section; the irony is brought out by the paronomasia lupanar/pulvinar; the similarity of the sound emphasizes the difference of level of the two words.

Again, as in the Sergius/Eppia story, the concluding verse refers back to the first line. pulvinar and its connotations of religion and the gods looks back to divorum, and lupanar looks back to rivales, as it is the place where those rivales - the brothel clients - have their share of Messalina, the wife of the Divus.

hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque uenenum	133
priuignoque datum? faciunt grauiora coactae	134
imperio sexus minimumque libidine peccant.	135
'optima sed quare Caesennia teste marito?'	136
bis quingena dedit. tanti uocat ille pudicam,	137
nec pharetris Veneris macer est aut lampade feruet:	138
inde faces ardent, ueniunt a dote sagittae.	139
libertas emitur, coram licet innuat atque	140
rescribat: uidua est, locuples quae nupsit auaro.	141

The three lines 133-5 have been constantly attacked. First by Gruppe (Minos, Leipzig, 1859, ch.8, book 10). Friedlaender accepts them, but thinks that they are an example of Juvenal's carelessness of composition. Hight (Juvenal the Satirist, p.267, n.8) would transpose 133-5 after 626. Knoche deletes the lines with Gruppe. Clausen mentions Gruppe's excision in his apparatus criticus. Courtney, BICS 13 (1966) 39-40 proposes to replace minimum by the inept sumum, saying:

For the point intended is evidently that crimes due to lust are the worst of all the crimes that women commit, a typically Juvenalian statement in its exaggeration and the absurdity of its scale of moral values (cf. e.g. 8.220-3) though here somewhat excused by the fact that as far as 141 the whole force of Juvenal's attack is turned on the promiscuity of women.

There is nothing wrong with those three lines. And their point is not what Courtney conceives but rather that although women's crimes of lust are astounding, their other crimes are even worse.

We must realize first that venenum here is not poison. That it is implied by Gruppe, Friedlaender, Green, Ramsay, and Courtney.

Venenum is an aphrodisiac. For venenum in that sense, see L. & S.

Pliny says of hippomanes, NH. 8.165:

et sane equis amoris innasci veneficium, hippomanes appellatum.
This is the obvious meaning of venenum here, as the third item in a list, after love potions and love spells. Juvenal is thinking of a Phaedra/Hippolytus situation, cf. 6.404; and hippomanes ... datum describes crimes of lust, without any mention of murder. Virgil, G. 3.282, also mentions step-mothers collecting hippomanes, and Benoist ad loc. rightly thinks that Virgil has a Phaedra/Hippolytus situation in mind. For the opposite view, that hippomanes in G. 3.282 is a poison, see Sidgwick ad loc.:

noverca: the typical poisoner ... in 1.283 non innoxia

looks as if hippomanes was a poison as well as a charm.

But non innoxius does not necessarily mean that hippomanes is here considered by Virgil to be a poison. And in no other instance is hippomanes mentioned as a poison. It is always an aphrodisiac.

Pliny, NH. 28.180-182 calls hippomanes noxium, when he is referring to its aphrodisiac properties. Ovid, MFF. 37-8, talking of aphrodisiacs,

nec vos graminibus nec mixto credite suco

nec temptate nocens virus amantis equae.

See moreover 626 and note there.

In the second place we must realize that there would have been no difficulty in accepting these verses as they stand if their structural function was realized. It is probably wrong paragraphing that is at the root of the uneasiness felt by scholars about those lines. With the traditional paragraphing it is inevitable that they should be taken as Courtney takes them:

These lines follow the description of Messalina's activities and comprise the comment with which Juvenal rounds off the narration.

This is wrong. 1.132 is the end of the Messalina section. 11.133-5 are the introduction of a new section which ends with the sententia in 1.141. If we regard them as a conclusion to a section, those lines are weak. This is the motive of Courtney's dissatisfaction. But if we realize that these are merely a link, and an introduction, not a vigorous conclusion, they become unobjectionable. 133-5 prompts the objection in 136, and so provides the starting point for the section that follows. 11.133-5 are to be seen as the satirist's device for passing from one interesting episode, Messalina in the brothel, to another, Caesennia and her husband. The passage from the one to the other is effected thus: 133-5: shall I add even more tales about women's lust to those I have already told? There is no point. Their sex drives them to worse crimes, and their crimes of lust are in fact the least of their crimes. 136: Objection: if women are so abominable, why is Caesennia so highly praised by her husband?

Although 133-5 is a mere transitional passage, Juvenal still decorates it with a little intellectual 'jeu' on sexus. sexus, which at first seems to be general in sense, = 'her sex, the fact that she is a woman', is made more precise in retrospect by the presence of libidine, which points to the meaning 'sexual organs'. And so a paradox is created. The demands of her sexus (in the second sense) we might expect to be primarily the demands of libido. But no; these are the least of the demands of her sexus (her womanhood). For a similar play on the word sexus see note on 254, and on 341.

1.137 provides a simple answer to the objector's question. This simple answer is then elaborated twice, in two sets of two verses, 138-9, 140-1.

In 138-9, the subject matter is arranged in chiastic order: pharetris ... lampade/faces ... sagittae. As we read 139 with 138 in

mind, inde implies non lampade sed dote, and a dote implies non a pharetris sed a dote. The chiastic arrangement works for the sententia, veniunt a dote sagittae, by providing in pharetris an implied contrast for a dote. The result is that vividness is given to the humorous paradox of the sententia: arrows drawn not from a quiver but from ... a dowry:

"It is not Venus' quiver that has made him thin or her flame that has set him on fire; it's the dowry that lit his torch, and the arrows came out of the dowry".

A dote are the most important words for the humour of the concluding sententia. inde in the first clause of 139 points forward to a dote, and creates in the listener's mind the expectation which gives added effectiveness to a dote when it comes. It is therefore important to notice that inde points forward to a dote. Cf. 6.560-1:

inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro

15.36-7:

inde furor volgo, quod numina vicinorum
odit uterque locus

where inde points forward and so gives emphasis to the explanation that follows. Nisbet strangely suggested in JRS 52 (1962) 238:

"6.138, if removed, might make inde in the next line a little easier".

6.138, if removed, would make no difference to inde, destroy the careful build-up towards the sententia, and spoil the paradox intended by Juvenal of arrows drawn out of a dowry.

Macer is meant to startle the imagination and work towards the sententia to make it effective. While faces, ardent, lampade, fervet are clearly elements in one picture, the audience will wonder at the

significance of macer in pharetris, sagittae, macer. What makes the lover macer or tenuis is constant sexual intercourse: cf. Cat. 89:

Gellius est tenuis: quid ni? cui tam bona mater
 tamque valens vivat tamque venusta soror
 tamque bonus patruos tamque omnia plena puellis
 cognatis, quare is desinat esse macer?
 qui ut nihil attingat nisi quod fas tangere non est
 quantumvis quare sit macer invenies.

Priap. 26:

Porro - nam quis erit modus? - Quirites
 aut praecidite seminale membrum
 quod totis mihi noctibus fatigant
 vicinae sine fine prurientes
 vernis passeribus salaciores
 aut rumpar, nec habebitis Priapum.
 ipsi cernitis, effututus ut sim
 confectusque macerque pallidusque.

In typical amatory contexts, one could say that it was the arrows from Love's quiver which caused this constant lust that made the lover thin. Here it is the dowry that is the quiver from which come the arrows which cause the lust that makes Caesennia's husband thin; in his case, it is lust indeed that is driving him to constant sexual activity, but it is lust for money. By clever contrasts and allusive use of words in antithesis Juvenal creates the picture of the lover wearing himself out in lust, but lust of money. This allusive humour we can only pursue clumsily.

In 140-1, libertas ... rescribat is merely the build-up for the sententia vidua est ... avaro. It states and describes the entire freedom Caesennia enjoys. When the point has been made by explicit

description it is expressed a second time in the sarcastic and paradoxical sententia. The pungency of the sententia derives from the paradox vidua/quae nupsit: 'she is unmarried who married'. Labriolle et Villeneuve at least try to express this paradox:

épouser un mari cupide, quand on est riche,
c'est être veuve.

Ramsay and Green spoil it by toning it down; Ramsay:

the rich woman who marries a money-loving husband
is as good as unmarried

Green:

your wealthy woman who marries a miser has
widow's privileges.

The paradox can be illustrated by comparison with Plautus, Men. 719-23:

Ma. Non ego istaec flagitia possum perpeti;
nam med aetatem viduam esse mavelim
quam istaec flagitia tua pati quae tu facis.
Me. quid id ad me, tu te nuptam possis perpeti
an sis abitura a tuo viro ?

Mil. Glor. 965-6:

Py. nuptanest an vidua?

Pa. et nupta et vidua.

Py. quo pacto potis

nupta et vidua esse eadem ?

Cist. 43-4:

Le. haec quidem ecaster cottidie viro nubit, nupsitque hodie
nubet mox noctu. numquam ego hanc viduam cubare sivi.

This clear antithesis nupta/vidua is spoilt by any interpolation of the idea of widowhood. There is no convenient word in English to express the idea of vidua, which is 'not having a bed-partner'. But the word

'widow' is most inappropriate. Yet translators import it here and also into 6.405, where it spoils the clear opposition between vidua/praeagnas, and into 4.4, where it spoils the same paradox between vidua and adulter.

'cur desiderio Bibulae Sertorius ardet?'	142
si uerum excutias, facies non uxor amatur.	143
tres rugae subeant et se cutis arida laxet,	144
fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores,	145
'collige sarcinulas' dicet libertus 'et exi.	146
iam grauis es nobis et saepe emungeris. exi	147
ocius et propera. sicco uenit altera naso.'	148

The question in 142 provides the link. We had in 136 a first question from an imaginary interlocutor, offering a possible exception to the general condemnation put forward by the satirist in 134-5. We now have a second possible exception: Bibula, who makes her husband Sertorius burn with desire. 1.143, like 1.137 in the preceding section, gives a simple answer to the question and introduces the theme which is then treated and developed in the five verses following (144-8). The key word in 143 is facies, and it is aspects of facies which are the subject of 144-8.

Juvenal carries his audience along unobtrusively. By means of a clever deception, he puts before us without our being aware of it the picture of an aged and completely horrifying woman: he starts with tres rugae subeant; the small number, and the run of the sense lead us to understand this as 'let only three wrinkles appear' (see Green's translation: 'when the first few wrinkles appear'), and to expect the description that will follow to be of minor blemishes. But only the first item fits into this logical pattern. Once he has deceived us into believing that he is going to be strictly logical, the satirist adds horror to horror, and presents us with a horribly ugly face. This illogical exaggeration decreases the validity of the satirist's case, if he ever wanted to make a serious point. But he clearly didn't. It is humour he is after.

At 146, the satirist starts preparing for the *sententia* in 148: sicco venit altera naso. Facies is reduced to one point of the facies, the nose, and on the dryness or otherwise of this Sertorius' love is made to depend. The irrationality and superficiality of Sertorius' affection is set off humorously by the triviality of its cause. This apparent triviality is in its turn spurious, since we have just been offered a horrifying portrait of Bibula, which would put off any man with an ounce of taste. In the speech of the libertus we are only given one additional piece of information about Bibula's face: that is that she saepe emungeris. These words are as the preparation for the *sententia*. (Cf. 112-3 where ferrum prepares for the humour of accepta rude.) The keenness of Sertorius to get rid of Bibula - keenness expressed forcefully by the heaping up of four imperatives; the repetition of exi, in the same position in two consecutive verses; and the chiasmic arrangement of those imperatives:

collige sarcinulas et exi / exi ocius et propera

- contrasts humorously with the trivial cause of such keenness, that another woman is coming sicco naso.

ll. 144-5 are inspired by and modelled on the third book of Ovid's AA. The material is the same, but Juvenal stands the Ovidian theme on its head: Ovid is telling girls what to avoid; those things have already befallen Juvenal's Bibula. We saw that in 144 Juvenal started as if he was going to describe the face of a woman who had begun to age slightly, and then goes on to describe that of an old crone. This is further shown by comparison with a passage of Ovid where he tells young girls to hurry and enjoy their youth before they become old women:

AA. 3.69-73: tempus erit quo tu quae nunc excludis amantes

frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus

.

quam cito, me miserum, laxantur corpora rugis.

The introduction goes on to 1.100. Then at 1.105 Ovid starts talking about facies:

cura dabit faciem; facies neglecta peribit.

And after a digression, he talks about the different ways of arranging hair (133-67), the vestes (168-92). And at 193 exclaims:

quam paene admonui, ne trux caper iret in alas

neve forent duris aspera crura pilis;

sed non Caucasea doceo de rupe puellas

quaeque bibant undas, Myse Caice, tuas.

quid si praecipiam ne fuscet inertia dentes ...

The effect of inertia in Ovid, Juvenal has transformed into the effect of old age, fiant obscuri dentes.

And in 203-4, Ovid talks about the care women should take of their eyes:

nec pudor est oculos tenui signare favilla

vel prope te nato, Lucide Cydne, croco.

The effect of eye-shadow is to make the eyes look larger by bringing them out; see Plin. NH. 33.102, on the use of antimony:

principalis autem circa oculos, namque ideo etiam

plerique platyophthalmon id appellavere, quoniam in

calliblepharis mulierum dilatet oculos.

It is the use of eye-shadow to widen the eyes, as advocated by Ovid, that Juvenal alludes to when he says that old age will make Bibula's eyes smaller; the effect which eye-shadow is meant to produce in Ovid is counteracted by the coming of old age in Juvenal.

It must be noted that in Ovid 105, facies does not mean 'face', but appearance in general. There too Juvenal is taking liberties with Ovid, to humorous purpose: Ovid puts it forward as a good thing that women should look to their appearance, facies; Juvenal humorously adapts the idea to his disquisition on the superficiality of an attractive facies, face.

interea calet et regnat poscitque maritum	149
pastores et ouem Canusinam ulmosque Falernas -	150
quantulum in hoc! - pueros omnes, ergastula tota,	151
quodque domi non est, sed habet uicinus, ematur.	152
mense quidem brumae, cum iam mercator Iason	153
clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis,	154
grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus	155
murrina, deinde adamas notissimus et Beronices	156
in digito factus pretiosior, hunc dedit olim	157
barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,	158
obseruant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges	159
et uetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.	160

We noticed above how after tricking us with tres rugae subeant Juvenal went on to describe the face of a decrepit old woman. Hence calet, which means "she has some heat in her, i.e., she is still young", is a link with the description of the old woman which precedes. Comparison of Bibula's description with that of the old man in satire 10 will show convincingly that Bibula is being described as a very old woman:

with 6.147-8, compare 10.199:

madidique infantia nasi.

with 6.144, compare 10.192-3:

deformem pro cute pellem

pendentesque genas et talis aspice rugas

with 6.145 compare 10.200:

frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi

Similarly, the best explanation of calet is 10.217-8:

praeterea minimus gelido iam corpore sanguis

febre calet sola ...

cf. also Martial, 3.93.16-7:

cum bruma mensem tibi sit per Augustum

regelare nec te pestilenties possit

directed at an old woman appropriately called Vetustilla.

Commentaries and translations obscure the meaning of calet, probably because they do not realize that Juvenal in 144-8, after tricking us with tres rugae, has given us the description of an old crone. Duff, ad loc.:

calet et regnat: she is in high favour and a queen.

I know no precise parallel to calere in this sense, but

frigere often means 'to be distasteful'; Lucan, 7.134

dum Fortuna calet is hardly similar. Can calet mean

'she is a novelty'?

Labriolle et Villeneuve:

pour le moment, en pleine faveur, elle règne despotiquement.

Green:

But now she's riding high/ she's the new princess ...

And Friedlaender says like Duff that calet is probably the opposite of friget, although he is not disturbed by the lack of parallels for that sense of calet.

In the two preceding examples we have considered what appeared to be exceptions to the general condemnation enunciated in 133-5. We now leave this altogether to consider a wife who plays on her husband's affection to extract extravagant presents from him. There is no thematic connection between this section and the preceding. But there is of course a structural connection provided by the continuity of the narrative. Bibula, having figured in one section as the proposed exception to the general rule that all women are abominable, now appears in another role, that of the mercenary wife. The person Bibula is the link between two thematically disparate sections.

In the enumeration of the presents Bibula extracts from her husband Juvenal uses the same device he used in 39-40 in the enumeration of the

presents of Ursidius: he designates them in such a way as to make his enumeration sound flippant: in 150, the sheep farm in Canusium is designated as 'shepherds and a Canusine sheep'. He uses first a plural for singular construction, and then a singular for plural construction. The use of plural for singular and vice-versa is a common and poetic figure of speech (see Q. 9.3.20). Juvenal uses this grand construction here in incongruous contiguity to obtain a comic effect. Again, the vineyards of Falernum are designated as 'Falernian elms'. Elms are part of a vineyard. Juvenal is now using the 'part for whole' construction, which is also a poetic device, to obtain a comic effect. He picks out the least important part of the vineyard for special mention in this grand manner, and the grandeur of the expression is a sarcastic reference to the love of elms and poplars, and hatred of plane-trees, prominent in Augustan rusticophilia. Cf. Hor. Q. 2.15.5; 4.5.30.

The same type of humour is continued in pueros omnes, ergastula tota. These items comically exaggerate Bibula's demands. The humorous imitation of child-like capriciousness is continued in 152 with the imperative delayed and exploding at the end of the line. In 11.153-4, (which will be discussed in detail below), we have a mock-epic couplet describing the Sigillaria in epic terms and heroic language. In 155-6, the mock-heroic tone is kept up in the description of the two items, murrina, crystallina, the epithets grandia, maxima providing as in 1.39 the kind of humour which is derived from comically exaggerated size. (See Appendix IB on grandis, p. 83). Lastly, in 156-8, comes the ring, described in high-sounding rhetorical tones, mimicking the praise showered on his wares by the merchant: we have anaphora and variatio: hunc dedit ... dedit hunc; luxuriance of language: barbarus incestae ... Agrippa sorori; and the high-sounding

verse-ending uu-- (see Appendix IA, example 192). Clashing with the resounding phrases, the low theme: Agrippa's incestuous relationship with his sister. The section ends with a description of Judaea by means of two circumlocutions in the pseudo-epic style, in verses on the V A B B A pattern, (see Appendix IA, examples 141, 142). In both periphrases we have the clash between form and subject-matter. In the first, the subject-matter is bare-footed kings celebrating the Sabbath; and in the second the traditional clemency shown by Jews to old pigs. 'Old pigs' is a comical use of poetic prolepsis: 'old pigs' for 'pigs who are allowed to grow old'. Porcis occurs at the end of what started off as a solemn line, and so gains in effectiveness.

mense quidem brumae ... nautis. Editors, following the scholia in most respects, rightly explain these verses as indicating the period of the Sigillaria when the fresco of the Porticus Argonautarum (for which see M.3.20; 11.1; 2.14.5) would be hidden by the casae (M.9.59.4), the canvas booths in which presents for the Sigillaria were sold. The Saepta is the place in Martial where one expects to find articles of luxury sold in Rome (9.59; 10.80). The porticus Argonautarum was in fact on the outside of the Saepta (see Nash, s.v. Saepta) and the two are mentioned together by Martial (2.14.5). The reason why Juvenal chose the porticus Argonautarum as the place of sale of the Sigillaria will become clear: we can fully appreciate the point of Juvenal's periphrastic description of the Sigillaria only if we compare it with Ovid, AA.1.399-412:

tempora qui solis operosa colentibus arva
 fallitur et nautis aspicienda putat.
 nec semper credenda Ceres fallacibus arvis
 nec semper viridi concava puppis aquae
 nec teneras semper tutum captare puellas:

saepe dato melius tempore fiet idem.
 sive dies suberit natalis sive Kalendae
 quas Venerem Marti continuasse iuvat
 sive erit ornatus non ut fuit ante Sigillis 407
 sed regum positas Circus habebit opes, 408
 differ opus: tunc tristis hiems, tunc Pliades instant
 tunc tener aequorea mergitur Haedus aqua;
 tunc bene desinitur; tunc si quis creditur alto
 vix tenuit lacerae naufraga membra ratis.

We must however pause here to reject Brandt's explanation of 407-8. Brandt thinks that Ovid is referring to the New Year, that ante indicates that the Sigillaria is over. Ovid is complaining that at the Sigillaria one has nowadays to give expensive presents, and that people - in this case, the mistress - are no longer content with the sigilla which were the traditional presents given on the feast of the Sigillaria. Nowadays one does not give sigilla, he says, but royal presents. There is evidence that more expensive presents than Brandt would admit were given at the Sigillaria. Cf. A.Gell. 2.3.5; 5.4.1; Suet. Cl.5; and that guardians of morals could be expected to inveigh against the gross extravagance of the Sigillaria: Suet. Cl.16:

fuerunt illa in censura eius notabilia, quod essedum
 argenteum sumptuose fabricatum ac venale ad sigillaria
 redimi concidique coram imperavit ...

Juvenal is again standing an Ovidian theme on its head. Ovid is warning the lover not to become engaged in an amorous affair at the time of the Sigillaria because it will cost him too much. Bibula has caught her man and is making him pay dearly for it.

In Ovid, the two ideas 'danger of sailing' and 'danger of starting a love-affair' are separate: winter-sailing and its consequences only

serve as an image, a metaphor illustrating the dangers of untimely amorous pursuits. But Juvenal takes advantage of the temporal coincidence of the Sigillaria and dangerous sailing conditions to blend the two themes into one: "At the time of the Sigillaria it is dangerous to sail". In Ovid too, if 11.407-9 are read apart from the context, tunc might be thought to be strictly temporal and non-metaphorical, and this is what may have inspired Juvenal. It is very probable that by putting together the two December events Ovid deliberately created the ambiguity. Juvenal takes the joke one step further: by imagining that the sale of presents is taking place in the Porticus Argonautarum, which was decorated with a fresco of Jason and the Argonauts, Juvenal sarcastically describes Jason as a merchant who sailed in search of gain, and he adds to the Ovidian picture an element of mythological debunking, which can be illustrated thus:

- (a) on the surface, Juvenal means: At the time of the Sigillaria, Jason and the Argonauts (the fresco) are enclosed by the white booths (in which the Sigillaria are sold).

But secondarily,

- (b) In Winter, merchants cannot sail and are prisoners in their white (snow-covered) houses.

By identifying Sigillaria in (a) with Winter in (b); and Jason in (a) with merchants in (b), Juvenal says in effect: At the time of the Sigillaria, in winter, Jason and the Argonauts, those commercial travellers, are prisoners of white (canvas in (a) snow in (b)) casae (booths in (a), dwellings in (b)).

For candidus = covered with snow, cf. Ovid, AA. 2.231-2:

nec grave te tempus sitiensque canicula tardet
nec via per iactas candida facta nives

Hor. O. 1.9.1-2:

vides ut alta stet nive candidum

Soracte

For clausus of the effects of winter, of bad weather generally, cf.

V.G. 2.317:

rura gelu tum claudit hiems

Ovid, Ep. 18.209:

illic me claudat Boreas ubi dulce morari est

Livy, 5.13:

insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut
viae clausae ...

Livy, 27.36.4.

Manilius, 3.641:

tum riget omnis ager, clausum mare condita castra ...

Sen. N.O. 7.27.3:

flumina gelu claudat

Lucan 5, 407-8:

Brundisii clausas ventis brumalibus undas
invenit et pavidas hiberno sidere classes

Petronius, 122, 1.147

Sil. It. 3.90.

Juvenal's imitation of Ovid does not stop at 154. 156-60 is a development of Ovid, AA. 1.408:

sed regum positas Circus habebit opes.

In L & S, Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Saturnalia, one finds it stated that there was a street or region in Rome reserved for the sale of the Sigillaria. The evidence for this is said to be Suet. Cl. 16:

essedum ... venale ad Sigillaria.

Ner. 28.4:

Hunc Sporum ... circa conventus mercatusque Graeciae ac
mox Romae circa Sigillaria comitatus est.

A.Gell. 5.4.1:

apud Sigillaria forte in libraria ego et Iulius Paulus ...
consideramus.

2.3.5:

librum Aeneidos ... emptum in Sigillariis.

Digest, 32.102:

lances quas de sigillaribus emi.

This evidence is not conclusive. It need not indicate that there was a special place where presents for the Sigillaria were sold. It may only indicate that, at the approach of the Sigillaria, shopkeepers displayed their most expensive merchandise, indicating that what they were offering for sale would be very suitable presents for the Sigillaria. In view of this and of the fact that Ovid speaks of Sigillaria sold in the Circus, and Juvenal in the Porticus Argonautarum, I prefer to believe that all shopkeepers had Sigillaria (i.e. presents for the Sigillaria) on sale as the feast approached. Sigillaria in all the passages quoted above would mean 'Sigillaria displays'.

'nullane de tantis gregibus tibi digna uidetur?'	161
sit formonsa, decens, dives, fecunda, uetustos	162
porticibus disponat avos, intactior omni	163
crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina,	164
rara auis in terris nigroque simillima cycno,	165
quis feret uxorem cui constant omnia?	166

The imaginary interlocutor presented two cases of what he considered to be happy unions (136, 142). The satirist in both cases destroyed his illusion. "Is there not a single good woman, then?", asks the interlocutor. And his question is the link: the section that follows is about the satirist's view of the typical Roman Matron, having the typical matronly virtues, 161-83. This section is divided into four sub-sections:

- 161-66 ... omnia = introduction
- 166 ~~malor~~ ...-171 = the military prowess of her ancestors
- 172-77 = her fecundity
- 178-81 = her virtue.

The question in 161 having provided the link, the satirist gives his description of that paragon, the virtuous Roman Matron. The description is sarcastic. The matron is given four straightforward epithets:

formonsa, decens, dives, fecunda. Then three sarcastic cola:

(a) vetustos ... avos

What this means is that the wife is noble, and sets up in her porticoes statues of her ancestors. But this is paraphrase, and it disregards the actual words Juvenal uses: "Let her place her ancient ancestors in her porticoes". Juvenal says "ancestors", and not "ancestors' statues". Juvenal's flippant tone suggests that the woman places in her porticoes her old grandfathers. This flippancy is essential to the appreciation of this section's flavour.

(b) intactor omni ... Sabina. There are two distinct points of humour: first, humour by comparison. Strictly, the point of comparison between the Sabines and the wife is their chastity. But the details of the description of the Sabines, rushing madly with dishevelled hair between the armies, are mentally transferred to the wife. The sarcasm of Juvenal's account of the wild and rather frightening Sabines overflows onto the woman who is being compared with them. This is clearly Juvenal's aim in choosing to mention this particular episode. There is secondly the ambiguity of intactor. The commonest meaning, and the first one that occurs to the reader in this context is 'virginal'. Cf. Cat. 62.45:

sic virgo dum intacta manet

V. A. 1.345:

cui pater intactam dederat

Suet. Aug. 62:

dimisit intactam adhuc et virginem

Sen. Hippolytus, 923:

silvarum incola ille efferatus castus intactus

Hor. O. 1.7.5:

intactae Palladis urbem.

In the first three examples here the context is concerned with marriage. Here too the context is similar. The satire is addressed to someone who is thinking of getting married. On hearing intactor the meaning 'virgin' would inevitably occur to the audience. But intacta is not necessarily restricted to this meaning and could be used of a wife who is chaste but not virgin. Scholars tend to pick out this second meaning of intacta and to say that this must be the meaning here. This is only half true. Juvenal wanted the word to be ambiguous (as his choice of an incident when the Sabines are no longer virgins clearly indicates)

and the point of the ambiguity is to make his audience wonder whether the wife is intacta not merely in that she is faithful to her husband, but also in that she is sexually incompetent. This idea will be taken up and developed in the last sub-section, 178-81.

(c) rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cycno.

As in (b), this is humour by comparison. The point of comparison between the black swan and the good wife is their rareness. But nigroque simillima cycno suggests that the wife is black like a black swan. Black people are made fun of in 8.32-3:

nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,

Aethiopem Cycnum

Since therefore the description of the ideal wife, which started seriously, ended with three ironical descriptive phrases, the question on which the introduction ends, "quis feret uxorem cui constant omnia?" is also ironical. The qualities (omnia) which the wife constantly possesses (constant) have not been built up as very attractive qualities.

The word constant also refers to the Stoic virtue of constantia. For this, see below.

	malo,	166 ⁺
malo Venustinam quam te, Cornelia, mater		167
Gracchorum, si cum magnis uirtutibus adfers		168
grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.		169
tolle tuum, precor, Hannibalem uictumque Syphacem		170
in castris et cum tota Carthagine migra.		171

These lines form the second sub-section. It picks up the theme of nobility of birth mentioned in the introduction, vetustos ... avos.

The sub-section starts with the satirist's convinced affirmation of his preference for Venustina. The erotic connotations of the name clash with the grandiose Cornelia, mater Gracchorum, which seems to have been her traditional title. Cf. Pliny, NH. 34.31; Plut. Tib.Gracc. 8.5; C.Gracc. 4.3; Val.Max. 4.4.1; Sen.ad Marc. de consol. 16.

In the rest of the passage the humour is created by the satirist's quaint turn of phrase or choice of words: cum magnis uirtutibus adfers grande supercilium: 'you bring with your great virtues a large eyebrow'. The audience tuned in to Juvenal's sarcasms cannot miss this one. For this use of grandis to express mock-grandeur see Appendix IB.

supercilium is used here in its double sense of 'pride' and 'eyebrow'. The translation above translates only one sense, the sarcastic one, of supercilium. The double-entendre is untranslatable. supercilium in a double sense is also in 2.14-5, in the description of the false Stoics:

rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi

atque supercilio breuior coma

"their speech is rare, their lust for holding their tongues great, and their hair shorter than their eyebrow". The last phrase is a sarcastic reference to the short hair but great pride of the pseudo-Stoics. Cornelia did not cut her hair short, but her virtues were in many respects Stoic virtues, as we shall see below.

et numeras in dote triumphos. Here too, a double meaning:

(a) 'you consider your triumphs as part of your dowry', on the pattern of 'aliquid in bonis numerare'; (b) 'you compute your triumphs as part of your dowry'. numerare dotem seems to have been a fairly common expression, cf. Cic. Caec. 11:

cum uteretur uxoris dote numerata

see also TLL, s.v.dos; Vocabularium Jurisprudentiae Romanae 2.392.28.

Indeed, the whole sub-section contains references to marriage and divorce procedure. The wife numerat her dowry. Triumphs are part of her dos. The husband who is here pictured as divorcing her has to give her back her dowry. (See Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. dos). One of the formulae of divorce was tuas res tibi habeto, (see Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. divortium). This is what the husband is doing here. He is asking Cornelia as she leaves to take away those triumphs which she brought with her as part of her dowry. Migra also seems to have been a common word in divorce contexts, see Dirksen, Manuale.

In 170-1 the husband asks his wife to take her triumphs away, since they are part of her dowry. He uses a humorous turn of phrase to end the sub-section with the picture of Cornelia going away, carrying in her arms Hannibal, Syphax, and the whole of Carthage.

Note also that Venustinam and its undertones of sexual delights pick up the hint of sexual incompetence of intactor in the preceding sub-section (a point developed below).

'parce, precor, Paeon, et tu, dea, pone sagittas;	172
nil pueri faciunt, ipsam configite matrem'	173
Amphion clamat, sed Paeon contrahit arcum.	174
extulit ergo greges natorum ipsumque parentem,	175
dum sibi nobilior Latonae gente uidetur	176
atque eadem scrofa Niobe fecundior alba.	177

This next sub-section is about fecundity, picking up fecunda of 1.162. Juvenal uses the exemplum of Niobe and her children, adding a few ironical touches: Amphion's prayer 'ipsam configite matrem' is the satirist's personal addition. The pregnant 'sed Paeon contrahit arcum' followed immediately by the funeral, and the cramming together of all the deaths, father and children all together in one line, gives an impression of irony which is also the satirist's own addition. After this type of flippancy, the passage ends with a piece of humour of comparison of the kind we have seen above (163-5). Niobe is compared to the white Alban sow. The point of comparison between them is their fecundity; but the 'natural animality' of the picture is transferred with humorous effect to Niobe. Niobe is visualized as a sow.

The myth of Niobe and Amphion is an exemplum to illustrate the danger of being too proud of one's children. Editors, very remiss in this, do not point out what is essential to the full appreciation of the irony of this passage, that Juvenal uses and varies the exemplum in such a way as to make details of it apply to the one proud mother we have in mind, Cornelia, mater Gracchorum. Green hints at something of this kind in the note to his translation (Satire 6, notes 13, 14). Cornelia, like Niobe, had twelve children (according to the Homeric version of the myth of Niobe, Il. 24.603-4) who all died before her. Seneca uses Cornelia and the death of her children as an exemplum in

ad Marc. de consol. 16:

primam Scipionis filiam, Gracchorum matrem. duodecim
illa partus totidem funeribus recognovit; et de
ceteris facile est quos nec editos nec amissos civitas
sensit. Tiberium Gaiumque quos etiam qui bonos viros
negaverit magnos fatebitur, et occisos vidit et insepultos.

Cornelia's children, like Niobe's, were equally divided between boys and girls: a fact striking enough to be commented upon by Pliny, NH. 7.57:

aliaeque feminas tantum generant aut mares, plerumque
et alternant, sicut Gracchorum mater duodeciens.

A well-known anecdote connected with Cornelia was that she had been the indirect cause of her husband's death. The anecdote, found in Cic. de div. 1.36; 2.62; Plin.NH. 7.122; Plut. Tib.Gracch. 1.2; is related by Val.Max. 4.6.1:

Ti.Gracchus anguibus domi suae mare ac femina
deprehensis certior factus ab aruspice mare dimisso
uxori eius, femina ipsi celerem obitum instare,
salutarem coniugi potius quam sibi partem augurii
secutus marem necari feminam dimitti iussit
sustinuitque in conspectu suo se ipsum interitu
serpentis occidi.

Accordingly, ipsumque parentem of l.175 applies to Cornelia. Amphion's cry ipsam configite matrem presents an Amphion who did not wish to follow the generous example of Gracchus.

The whole passage is a virtuoso performance on the part of Juvenal who in his telling of the myth chooses those details of it which fit into the life history of Cornelia, and by this process makes the passage both amusing and sarcastic.

quae tanti grauitas, quae forma, ut se tibi semper	178
inputet? huius enim rari summique uoluptas	179
nulla boni, quotiens animo corrupta superbo	180
plus aloes quam mellis habet.	181

1. The new sub-section is introduced by a rhetorical question: what gravitas, what beauty is so precious that one would like to be reminded of their worth by their possessor all the time? In ll. 179-80 Juvenal plays with philosophical technical terms: summum bonum, voluptas. Voluptas was the summum bonum of the Epicureans, an idea abhorrent to the Stoics. This lady, being full of the typical and traditional Roman virtues, is more like a Stoic. Juvenal consequently calls her, with a touch of humour, a summum bonum of the kind that has no voluptas in it. Rarus is also part of the philosophic joke, and refers to the Stoic sage who was such a perfect being that he was also a very rare one. This is all part of the stock of popular Stoic philosophy. (See Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, tr. Reichel, ch. 10). Cf. Sen. de const. sap. 7.1:

non fingimus istud humani ingenii vanum decus nec
ingentem imaginem falsae rei concipimus, sed qualem
confirmamus, exhibuimus ac exhibebimus, raro
forsitan magnisque aetatum intervallis unum.

From this joke on philosophical technical terms Juvenal passes smoothly though illogically (Lucretius being Epicurean, and the lady here more like a Stoic) to a reminiscence of Lucretius. Lucretius said (1.936-50) that to make people swallow the wormwood of his philosophy he would tempt them by anointing the lips of the cup with honey. The woman here is like Lucretius' ratio: there is more bitterness in her than there is sweetness (aloes replacing wormwood). The philosophical terms would put the audience in mind of philosophy, and, following, of

Lucretius when they came to the 'honey and aloes' passage. Lucretius explains his reason for putting his philosophy into verse thus:

quoniam haec ratio plerumque videtur 943
 tristior esse quibus non est tractata, retroque
 volgus abhorret ab hac, volui tibi suaviloquenti
 carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram
 et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle ...

Lucretius' volgus and Juvenal's husband both horrere at what confronts them. They are both attracted by what is sweet: Lucretius' reader by the honey on the cup, Juvenal's husband by the beauty of his wife. But the sweetness is slight compared with the bitterness that comes with it: Lucretius' involved ratio; the wife's what? Clearly her gravitas, her animus superbus. The gravitas is the bitter aloes the taste of which the honey of her beauty concealed. (Note that gravis is commonly applied to an unpleasant taste.)

2. We can at this point look back at ll. 161-6: we see that dives and vetustos ... avos were picked up at 167-71: Cornelia comes with a rich dowry and her ancestral triumphs; fecunda was picked up in 172-7. In the present sub-section are picked up the other themes announced in the introduction: formosa, decens, intactior ... Sabina, rara avis. We have seen in 1. references to beauty picking up formosa and decens. We also saw there that the wife was a paragon of virtue, summum bonum: the philosophical term picks up the idea of old Roman Chastity in intactior ... Sabina (163-4); also that she was as rare as the Stoic sage: rari in 179 picks up rara avis of 165.

3. To turn to Cornelia, mater Gracchorum: We saw that her presence was not confined to 167-71, but that she was in 172-7 as well. It would have been most odd if after being present in two of the sections

illustrating the introduction she were to be left out of the third and last. We saw in 1. that this last sub-section 178-81 is about the unpleasantness of the virtuous woman of the traditional Roman type. Cornelia - prima facie - fits perfectly the picture of a virtuous woman. In addition to her other claims to fame, she was extraordinarily chaste. See Plut. Tib. Gracc. 1.4; Although she was still young when her husband died, she refused to marry again, even refusing an offer of Ptolemy. When a notorious effeminate, enemy of Tiberius Gracchus, attacked her, Gaius said in reply:

Plut. Gaius Gracchus, 4.4:

"καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἴδοσι πρώτην πλείω χρόνον
ἐκείνην ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οὕσαν ἢ σὲ τὸν ἄνδρα."

On the presence of Cornelia in this sub-section, see further par.5 below.

4. voluptas is the clue to the section. We saw that it was employed here as a technical term of philosophy, the summum bonum of the Epicureans, and that one function of it was to indicate that the wife in question was more like a Stoic summum bonum, without any voluptas in her. And here we touch the second meaning of voluptas in this context. When we are told that there is no voluptas in a woman we understand by this that she gives no sexual satisfaction. Voluptas in the sexual sense is so common (being so used, for example, all over the Ars Amatoria) that used in connection with a woman here its sexual meaning is unavoidable. Juvenal is saying in a roundabout fashion that the wife in question is a paragon of virtue but that she is sexually unsatisfactory. Her chastity is excessive. The question mark left in our minds by intactior in 163 is now removed (see above p. 137): the woman is chaster than a Sabine, i.e. more sexually inept; and malo Venustinam points forward to this sexual theme.

5. We are now in a position to appreciate the close parallel between this sub-section and Martial, 11.104:

uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris
 non sum ego nec Curius, nec Numa, nec Tattius

 nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare
 nec digitis: tamquam tura merumque pares.
 masturbabantur Phrygii post ostia servi
 Hectoreo quotiens sederat uxor equo
 et quamvis Ithaco stertente pudica solebat
 illic Penelope semper habere manum.
 Paedicare negas: dabat hoc Cornelia Graccho
 Iulia Pompeio, Porcia, Brute, tibi ...
 Si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto
 sis licet usque die: Laid a nocte volo.

Line 2 of Martial is paralleled in 11.163-4 of Juvenal: Juvenal's wife is of the Sabine kind, having all the Old Roman virtues; Martial's husband declares that he is no virtuous character of Roman Ancient History. Martial says that even Cornelia allowed herself a little sexual latitude. Juvenal's Cornelia is not like Martial's: paedicare is the kind of thing his summum bonum, his Cornelia (see par. 3) would not allow her husband. The word which summarizes the sexual reticence of Martial's wife is gravitas. Gravitas is the thematic word of 178-81, occurring in the first line. The parallel with Martial illustrates how easy it was for a Roman to understand that Cornelia was present in spirit in this sub-section. (See par. 3).

6. Before we leave this sub-section, we look back at two points:

- (a) 166 in the introductory sub-section. Now that we have seen that 163 intact-
ior-166 is picked up in the last sub-section, in 178-81, and that

the central theme of 178-81 springs from a word-play on quasi-philosophical terms and ideas, we notice that this theme is foreshadowed in 166, cui constant omnia containing a reference to the Stoic constantia. constant therefore belongs to the group formed of intactior, rara/rari, summum bonum, voluptas.

- (b) concerning forma. It appears at first that this word is of equal importance to gravitas in this last sub-section (178-81). But while gravitas is central, forma is incidental. It is put in to provide a counterpart for the Lucretian honey. Juvenal is not being strictly analytical. He is creating a character around which to build an interesting section. He is saying in effect: assume that you have a wife who is gravis; assume that she is also beautiful. He puts beauty and gravitas together and so uses the wife's beauty as a way of setting off the unpleasantness of her gravitas. It does not matter in strict logic whether the wife's beauty is great or only mediocre. If she has excessive gravitas she will make an unpleasant wife. By making her have gravitas and beauty the situation is made more ironical and humorous. The fact that she is formosa, decens, and of outstanding forma merely emphasize the frustration caused by her gravitas.

quis deditus autem	181
usque adeo est, ut non illam quam laudibus effert	182
horreat inque diem septenis oderit horis?	183
quaedam parua quidem, sed non toleranda maritis.	184
nam quid rancidius quam quod se non putat ulla	185
formosam nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,	186
de Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? omnia Graece:	187
[cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.]	188
hoc sermone pauent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,	189
hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. quid ultra?	190
concumbunt Graece. dones tamen ista puellis,	191
tune etiam, quam sextus et octogensimus annus	192
pulsat, adhuc Graece? non est hic sermo pudicus	193
in uetula. quotiens lascium interuenit illud	194
ζωὴ καὶ ψυχὴ, modo sub lodice relictis	195
uteris in turba, quod enim non excitet inguen	196
uox blanda et nequam? digitos habet. ut tamen omnes	197
subsident pinnae, dicas haec mollius Haemo	198
quamquam et Carpophoro, facies tua computat annos.	199

181-3, quis deditus ... horis rounds off the section on the paragon and introduces the next, 184 ff. In 181-3 the satirist says "who is nevertheless (in spite of his wife's being more bitter than sweet) so devoted that he does not hate her for more hours each day than he loves her?". (For 'seven hours' = 'the greater part of the day' cf. Digest 50. 16.2). Translators tend to leave out autem. It should be translated, if only to mark the strong pause at mellis habet. This is the concluding sententia of the preceding section. In quis deditus ... horis it is implied that the husband of the paragon hates his wife for more hours each day than he loves her, and this idea of the husband hating his wife leads without break into quaedam parua quidem ... maritis. The smooth flow is interrupted by Clausen's paragraphing after 183. quis deditus ... horis is a link passage. It looks back, and it also looks forward.

Are we to follow Clausen in bracketing 188? I think not. 188 - if we accept it - is a reference to the grammarians' question of how to teach pupils to speak Latin properly, to avoid barbarism. This question is debated by Quintilian, 1.1.12-3:

A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt. Non tamen hoc adeo superstitiose fieri velim ut diu tantum Graece loquatur aut discat, sicut plerisque moris est. Hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima vitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti et sermonis, cui cum Graecae figurae adsidua consuetudine haeserunt, in diversa quoque loquendi ratione pertinacissime durant.

The same type of discussion is found in Q.1.5.5; Cic.de Oratore.3.40-44; Brutus, 133; 140; ad Heren. 4.17.

I think the line can be retained if we analyse the passage in this way: after the link has been effected, the theme is introduced, and it is built up in de Tusca ... de Sulmonensi ... The theme is then summed up in the two words omnia Graece. The unexpected reference to the traditional dispute of the grammatical schools then raises a smile by its unexpectedness and lowers the tone, so that the build-up can start again in 189-90. Moreover the word turpe contains - unsuspected at this point - the germ of the sexual theme that will be brought out in the lines that follow. In the same way nescire Latine while it looks back in the sense 'not to know how to speak Latin', looks forward in the sense 'not to know how to make love Latin style'.

At 189 the build-up starts again, and develops as an ascending tricolon culminating with hoc ... animi secreta. The build-up, and our expectation, are heightened by the question quid ultra? And the section is capped by the sexual joke concumbunt Graece: the joke is

in part a verbal one, in that it depends on the audience grasping the gradation from animi secreta to ... secreta concubitus. It means "they speak Greek in bed" and also "they have intercourse Greek style".

Secretum has more often than not sexual undertones in Juvenal:

2.91: talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda.

9.22-3: fanum Isidis et Ganymeden
Pacis et advectae secreta Palatia Matris.

9.53: munera femineis tractat secreta Kalendis

9.93-7: Naevolus warns his friend:

haec soli commissa tibi celare memento
et tacitus nostras intra te fige querellas ...
qui modo secretum commiserat ardet et odit
tanquam prodiderim quidquid scio ...

where secretum is used punningly.

9.102-3: O Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum
esse putas?

Compare with this last passage Martial 11.45:

intrasti quotiens inscriptae limina cellae
seu puer arrisit sive puella tibi
contentus non es foribus veloque seraque
secretumque iubes grandius esse tibi ...

6.403: where the gossip knows
quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta novercae
et pueri ...

10.337: haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.

where secreta is again used punningly.

3.109-13: praeterea sanctum nihil aut ab inguine tutum
non matrona laris, non filia virgo, nec ipse
sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus.

horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.

scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.

This last line has been needlessly suspected by editors. It is of course unimpeachable once the pun is understood.

6.314-8: nota bonae secreta deae, cum tibia lumbos
 incitat et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur
 attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi
 Maenades. o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
 concubitus ...

Where secreta is followed in the context by concubitus, just as it is followed here by concumbunt. For secretum in an obscene context, see also Petronius, 7; 17; 20; 21; 25; 112; 129.

What is meant by concumbunt Graece? They make love 'Greek style', i.e. with lascivious sexual motions, and not in the matron-like way, i.e. while remaining motionless and allowing themselves no co-operative move of any kind. It is a feature of traditional and literary Roman ethos that all love-making except for the most straightforward was unsuitable for a good Roman wife and to be associated with prostitutes and Greeks, these two being often equated, and the equation reflected in the fact that in life as in literature prostitutes would, it would appear, have tended to take Greek names. This must have been an advertisement of the fact that they 'were good at their jobs'. To use Greek love-words, to make love Greek style are two aspects of this traditional Roman anti-sexual-pleasure ethos. Lucretius 4.1160-9, in his list of love-words, includes a great majority of Greek words. And he asserts that to seek pleasure in love-making for herself or for her partner was an act unworthy of a Roman matron; 4.1268-77:

nec molles opu' sunt motus uxoribus hilum.

nam mulier prohibet se concipere atque repugnat,

clunibus ipsa viri venerem si laeta retractat
 atque exossato ciet omni pectore fluctus;
 eicit enim sulcum recta regione viaque
 vomeris atque locis avertit seminis ictum.
 idque sua causa consuerunt scorta moveri,
 ne complerentur crebro gravidaeque iacerent
 et simul ipsa viris venus ut concinnior esset;
 coniugibus quod nil nostris opus esse videtur.

Juvenal in 6.294-313 equates the coming of the Greeks to Rome with the coming of all sorts of sexual perversions. See also Martial 10.68, which has not been adequately explained in the past:

cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mytilene,
 sed domus in vico, Laelia, patricio,
 deque coloratis nunquam lita mater Etruscis,
 durus Aricina de regione pater,
 κύριέ μου, γέλι μου, ψυχή μου congeris usque,
 pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae.
 lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis,
 sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro.
 scire cupis quo casta modo matrona loquaris?
 numquid cum crissas blandior esse potes?
 tu licet ediscas totam referasque Corinthon,
 non tamen omnino, Laelia, Lais eris.

This epigram can be paraphrased thus:

Then you are a native Italian, isn't it shameful on your part to be using Greek endearments all the time? This kind of language is only fit for demi-mondaines when they are in bed with their lovers. You want me to tell you how you must speak if you are to be like a chaste matron? (that was not the point of my remarks at all) I ask you,

when you are in bed, can you improve on your love-play? You cannot. (understood in numquid). You can talk Greek like a demi-mondaine, but when it comes to actual love-making your performance is very Roman, and you can do no better than a chaste matron, i.e., my criticism is not that you speak Greek like a Greek, but that you do not come up to the standards of love-making that your speech would seem to promise; not that your Greek speech is untypical of Roman matrons, but that your sexual performance is too much like a Roman matron's.

We can now appreciate the full meaning of concumbunt Graece.

(See also M.11.104, partly quoted p. 145).

The satirist now makes a new start. But granting this to puellis, he says, you too, old woman, still do it Greek style? It is clear following concumbunt Graece that Juvenal is going to castigate the old woman not merely for using Greek love-words, but also for practising Greek love-making. adhuc Graece embraces both activities. And in case any in the audience, like Housman (I), should be surprised that this old woman still has intercourse at all, Juvenal asserts firmly that she does: "when you use those Greek words of blandishment, you are using in public words you have just left under the bed cover, i.e. which you have just used in love-making". It will be seen from this that I find no virtue in Housman's suggested ferendis for relictis. Relictis, as I hope to have shown, is in the argument. modo ... in turba is to imprint on the audience's minds that this vetula not merely talks Graece but that she talks Greek in love-making and therefore that she also makes love Greek-style. Juvenal now concentrates on her love-making: the old woman, then, still has intercourse at her age, and uses Greek words of blandishment; but she is so old that for all her blandishments the male is not excited. Here we must pause to consider why Juvenal says that Greek words are not pudica in vetula. The fact

that a young woman uses Greek words indicates (so it is understood) that she also makes love Greek style; the fact that the old woman uses Greek words indicates - and Juvenal stresses it - that she also makes love Greek style. Yet it is only in vetula that this use of Greek words indicating Greek intercourse is not pudicum. Why? The easy answer is to say simply that it is impudicum for an old woman to have intercourse at all, a fortiori to have Greek intercourse. But if we are not to stray from the argument Juvenal must be arguing that Greek intercourse particularly is impudicum for old women in particular. I think that the hint of sexual 'malpractice' in connection with old men and women would suggest to a Roman audience fellatio or cunnilingus according to the sex of the person under attack; M.11.46.3-6:

truditur et digitis pannucea mentula lassis
 nec levat extinctum sollicitata caput.
 quid miseros frustra cunnos culosque lacessis?
 summa petas: illic mentula vivit anus.

3.75:

stare, Luperce, tibi iampridem mentula desit,
 luctaris demens tu tamen arrigere.
 sed nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces,
 improba nec prosunt iam satureia tibi.
 coepisti puras opibus corrumpere buccas:
 sic quoque non vivit sollicitata Venus.

11.25:

illa salax nimium nec paucis nota puellis
 stare Lino desit mentula. Lingua cave.

J.10.205-9:

iacet exiguus cum ramice nervus
 et, quamvis tota palpetur nocte, iacebit.

anne aliquid sperare potest haec inguinis aegri
canities? quid quod merito suspecta libido est
quae venerem adfectat sine viribus?

Which shows that the theme is common enough to allow Juvenal to allude to it without further insistence.

10.236-9:

nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen; tantum artificis valet halitus oris
quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis.

Where halitus oris is a broad hint of the kind of intercourse that Phiale and the old man have been having.

H. Epds. 8:

rogare longo putidam te saeculo
vires quid enervet meas ...
.....
quod ut superbo provocas ab inguine
ore adlaborandum est tibi.

A theme that Horace derives directly or indirectly from Archilochus, see Grassman, pp. 3-5.

Anth. Pal. 5.38:

εὐμεγέθης πείθει με καλὴ γυνή, ἂν τε καὶ ἀκρῆς
ἀπτητ', ἂν τε καὶ ἥ, Σιμύλε, πρεσβυτέρη.
ἣ μὲν γάρ με νέει περιλύσεται, ἣ δὲ παλαιὴ
γρᾶδιά με καὶ ῥυσή, Σιμύλε, λειχάσεται.

And fellatio is one of those Greek styles of intercourse associated with the coming to Rome of the Greeks in 6.300-1:

quid enim venus ebria curat?
inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit ...

So, the line of thought running through this paragraph could be paraphrased thus:

"Young women might do things Graece without reproach. But you, old woman, are still doing things Greek style! Those Greek words are a sign of impudicitia in an old woman. For your Greek words show that you make love Greek style. But for you 'love Greek style' cannot mean mobile and lascivious intercourse as it does in the case of a young woman; for your Greek words of blandishment would still leave your lover flaccid. The conclusion I draw is that for you 'love Greek-style' must mean fellatio".

It is evident that I have expanded this paraphrase to bring out the train of thought of Juvenal, and especially that there is no hidden or overt mention of fellatio in the text. My point is that Juvenal leads us towards fellatio; and then he cleverly omits to mention it. But he has led us far enough along the way for our minds to make the necessary jump when the old woman's blandishments fail in the pregnant facies tua computat annos.

ut tamen omnes subsidant pinnae. The commonest interpretation of these words seems to be the one expressed by Ruperti in these words:

"Ut ... tamen omnes subsidant pennaе" h.e. vereor ne tua voce non excitetur inguen s.libido, sed potius flaccescat. conf. ad 10.205-6. Proverbialis locutio cui fere respondet illa: incidere alicui pennas, s. pinnas, quae in piscibus natationis et in avibus volatus instrumenta sunt. Sic et nos dicimus, die flügel hängen oder sinken lassen, et, einem die flügel beschneiden. Metaphora illa petita videtur ab avibus quae vel volatu fatigatae viribusque exhaustae, vel correptae morbo, alas demittunt.

which is derived from the scholia:

ab ave metaphora, quia vetulae flaccescant.

It seems to me that pinnae = 'feathers', here used for 'titillation' applied to the lover's groin; and that subsidant = 'are applied under' subsiedere being used as the passive of submittere, cf. Lucr. 4.1198; Hor. Epds. 16.31; and that ut subsidant is concessive. The passage would then be paraphrased thus:

"It has fingers. But though all manner of titillation may be applied to the groin, though you may speak those words more softly than Haemus and Carpophorus, your face counts your years".

We then have two subjunctives, both concessive, ut subsidant, quamquam dicas, with the conjunction varied, which build up the audience's expectation for the pregnant and lapidary sententia. According to the traditional interpretation, quite apart from the fact that the bird metaphor is inept and unparalleled, the discomfiture of the old woman, if it is already expressed in ut ... pinnae robs facies ... annos of half its effect. Whereas if ut ... pinnae is concessive parallel to quamquam dicas, there is an effective rhetorical asyndetic build-up towards the sententia.

si tibi legitimis pactam iunctamque tabellis	200
non es amaturus, ducendi nulla uidetur	201
causa, nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas	202
labente officio crudis donanda, nec illud	203
quod prima pro nocte datur, cum lance beata	204
Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus auro.	205

Note how Juvenal forgets at the end of a section how he started it: at 184, his quaedam parva quidem led us to expect an enumeration of minor faults which were nevertheless unbearable. He then gives one example of a minor fault, Greek speech. From Greek speech, he goes on to Greek love-making, the culmination of the section being the picture of an old woman trying hard and unsuccessfully to arouse her husband to intercourse: a far from minor blemish in a wife. Juvenal gives us one item in what started as if it was going to be an enumeration; and then promptly forgets the enumeration, quaedam parva quidem ... maritis having helped us to glide into a new section.

The link between 200-5 and the preceding section is contrived equally cleverly: the preceding section ended with the picture of a man being unable to rouse himself to sexual activity on account of the repulsiveness of his wife, a husband who could not amare his wife in the sexual sense. In 200-1, the husband who is not amaturus his wife picks up this idea, which serves as a link between the two sections. The sexual sense of amaturus is picked up in prima pro nocte in 204: if the husband is not going to have sexual intercourse with his wife, then anything that is given prima pro nocte is indeed a waste.

si tibi legitimis ... causa contains the link and introduces the theme, stating it once: "if you are not going to have intercourse with your wife, there is no point in marrying". The theme is then repeated with embellishments in nec est ... auro, the "there is no

point in marrying" being expanded in the three-item enumeration of the things wasted, cenam, mustacea, illud ... auro; and the idea "if you are not going to have intercourse with your wife" re-appearing in prima pro nocte datur, in the third item of the enumeration, which receives special emphasis.

What is the reference of illud ... auro? The commonly accepted explanation is that it refers to a present given to the bride of gold coins on a platter. This passage of Juvenal's would be the only reference to such a gift. This may be so. But I would like to suggest tentatively that there is here a reference to the conveyance of the bride per aes et libram. One of the commonest forms of marriage, coemptio, involved this practice. (See Corbett, 78-85). Lanx I would then take to be one of the platters of the balance. I would then imagine that the conveyance of the bride per aes et libram would take place on the day after the wedding night, at the repotia, the feast which we know was given on that day. (See PW s.v. repotia). There is no evidence that the giving of manus took place after the wedding-day, but there is no reason why it should not have been so. The marriage ceremony contained elements of simulated rape. The carrying off by force of the bride from her mother; the parting of the bride's hair with a spear; the carrying of the bride over the threshold. (See Daremberg, Saglio s.v. matrimonium). Those practices were explained as simulating rape, and were referred to the first Roman marriage by tradition, the rape of the Sabines. For the carrying off by force of the bride from her mother, see Festus, 289 M:

rapi simulatur virgo ex gremio matris ... quod videlicet
ea res feliciter Romulo cessit.

For the parting of the bride's hair with a spear, see Plut. Rom. 15.

For the carrying of the bride over the threshold, Plut. Rom. 15; QR, 29.

The origin of the wedding cry Talasio was also referred to an episode of the rape of the Sabines, as was the deductio, see Plut. QR. 31.

There is consequently no prima facie reason why, after the wedding night, the parents of the bride should not have come to the husband's house and ceremonially claimed payment for the harm that had been done their daughter prima nocte.

There is however the difficulty of auro. The conveyance was per aes et libram and it is not likely that a gold coin should have replaced the traditional aes. A text of Gaius indicates that the bronze coin was de rigueur: Inst. 1.118-22:

Ideo autem aes et libra adhibetur quia olim aereis
tantum nummis utebantur et erant asses ... nec ullus
aureus vel argenteus nummus in usu erat.

It is conceivable that someone unacquainted with the practice and believing that a rich object was required should have deliberately or half-unintentionally changed aere to auro. Aere would give us an ironical and Juvenalian conclusion: the 'losses' of the husband are built-up rhetorically, cenam, mustacea ... donanda, illud ... aere, to end with a grand circumlocution describing a traditional ceremony, the emphasis in the circumlocution falling anticlimactically on the least grand word, aere.

si tibi simplicitas uxoria, deditus uni	206
est animus, summitte caput ceruice parata	207
ferre iugum, nullam inuenies quae parcat amanti.	208
ardeat ipsa licet, tormentis gaudet amanti	209
et spoliis; igitur longe minus utilis illi	210
uxor, quisquis erit bonus optandusque maritus.	211

The section offers a contrast with the preceding: in the preceding, the husband did not love (sexually) his wife. In the present, he loves only her. (That the attachment is sexual is implied by the contrast, and by the tormentis ... spoliis, which imply sexual blackmail, see below).

The section starts with a pun on simplicitas uxoria which contains two meanings:

1. if yours is oneness in respect of your wife, i.e. if you love your wife and your wife alone, and
2. if you are honest/simple-minded and uxorious.

As 2 is the more obvious meaning, Juvenal brings 1 out by means of a gloss, deditus uni est animus. Editors and translators however tend to fasten on 2 only, and also not to point out the ambivalence of simplicitas = honesty/simple-mindedness. Meaning 1 of simplicitas uxoria was pointed out by Grangaeus:

ludit in ambiguo. vocat enim 'simplicitatem uxoriam'
unam et simplicem uxorem habere ...

By making the husband bear the yoke, a different situation from that in H.O. 2.5:

nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia conparis
aequare, nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus ...

Juvenal implies that, sexually, the woman will dominate. He equates the husband with the elegiac lover who is sexually dependent on his mistress. For the image, see La Penna, Maia, 4 (1951) 187-209.

In two sentences, in which amanti, amantis, is emphasized by repetition to contrast with non es amator in 200-5, Juvenal says that the woman in this situation will take pleasure in making her husband suffer, and in despoiling him. et spoliis is in enjambement for emphasis (why, we shall see below), and tormentis and spoliis are part of a sequence. The wife who sexually dominates her husband torments him sexually, and his spolia are the price he pays to be relieved of his torments.

This is followed by the conclusion, igitur longe minus ... maritus, which looks back to both sections 200-5, 206-11. In the first section it is said that if the husband is not going to love his wife (sexually) all the marriage festivities are a waste of money. In the second section it is said that if he loves (sexually) his wife and her only, she will despoil him, et spoliis being in enjambement to emphasize the point. Hence the conclusion that to the husband in the first case, who has no sexual feelings for his wife, his wife is not utilis: he has no use for her and she is merely a waste of mustacea, cena, and illud ... aur^o; to the husband in the second case, who is sexually dependent on his wife, his wife is even less utilis as she will cost him even more money. (For utilis = 'financially rewarding', cf. 240, and note there). For the listener alive to the sexual sous-entendus the conclusion contains a further note of humour: the last words carry the satirist's implied criterion for what makes a bonus optandusque maritus: sexual keenness, and dependence.

*Note that here too aere would fit better; it would give us a tricolon rhetorically ascending but descending in the actual value of the objects in each colon.

nil umquam inuita donabis coniuge, uendes	212
hac obstante nihil, nihil haec si nolet emetur.	213
haec dabit affectus: ille excludatur amicus	214
iam senior, cuius barbam tua ianua uidit.	215
testandi cum sit lenonibus atque lanistis	216
libertas et iuris idem contingat harenae,	217
non unus tibi riualis dictabitur heres.	218

This section continues the theme introduced by the second horn of the dilemma (206-11) and we thus glide into the theme of the control held over the uxorious husband by the wife: she controls his property, his friendship, the making of his will. The first two lines are about his property: he cannot give, sell, or buy anything without his wife's consent. Juvenal gives a virtuoso display of word manipulation: three asyndetic and repetitive clauses reflect the wife's peremptoriness and petulance; if we analyze the first clause giving symbols to its constituent parts thus: nil = a, invita = b¹, donabis = c, coniuge = b², we can express the three clauses (disregarding umquam which is understood in the last two clauses) in this way:

$$ab^1cb^2, cb^2b^1a, ab^2b^1c,$$

in which a = nil, nihil, nihil

b¹b² = invita ... coniuge, hac obstante, haec si nolet

c = donabis, vendes, emetur.

(1) We note first the variation within each symbol: a = nihil twice, but nil once. b¹b² are together twice, separated once. Ablative absolutes twice, a conditional clause once. c is a future tense in the active voice twice, in the passive voice once.

(2) We next notice the chiasmus in clauses 2 and 3:

$$\underline{cb^2b^1a} / \underline{ab^2b^1c}$$

and the less rational but structurally perfect chiasmus of clauses

1 and 2:

$$\underline{ab}^1 \underline{cb}^2 / \underline{cb}^2 \underline{b}^1 \underline{a}$$

So that while the general pattern is the same, there is an element of variatio.

In 214-5, the wife forces the husband to close his door to an old friend, one who has been a visitor since his youth, before his depositio barbae. Juvenal's language is deliberately odd and picturesque, fastening on the detail of the beard; the first half prepares the listener for the striking picture of the second half, which is in exact response to it: ille excludatur/tua ianua vidit, amicus iam senior/cuius barbam. Since amicus iam senior is in clear opposition to barbam, it is clear that the presence of barba indicates early youth, in effect the age before the depositio barbae. Because of the mistaken belief (see note on radere guttur, above p.108) that the Romans of Juvenal's day only started shaving when they were 40 years old, translators tend to avoid translating precisely, "whose beard your door saw", see Labriolle, Villeneuve:

Il faudra le chasser ce vieil ami dont ta porte a vu
la première barbe.

Ramsay: the beginnings of his beard.

P. Green: visitors since boyhood.

Friedlaender, Duff, and Knoche in a footnote to his translation, refer to 1.105, radere guttur not realizing that if the fact of having a beard is an indication of very early youth (as it must be to contrast effectively with amicus iam senior) it makes fatuous their contention that Romans began to shave at 40. For the contrast would then be: "Your friend, now an old man, is shut out; but he was a welcome visitor before he turned forty!" The shaving of the beard which at 105 is said to be the attribute of the ageing gladiator is here the sign of early youth!

In the last three lines, the uxorious husband loses his last liberty: that of making his will as he pleases (216-8). There are many levels of humour in this passage, as we shall see. To take dictabitur first: the right to make a will is enjoyed by brothel keepers and gladiators' trainers, and even by gladiators themselves, while the husband's will is dictated to him. The word dictabitur is aptly used to contrast the husband's servitude with the gladiator's freedom: dictata is a gladiatorial word. See TLL s.v. dicto II 2 'in certamine gladiatorio i.q. praecepta lanistae', and quoting Petronius, 45:

unus alicuius flaturae fuit Thraex qui et ipse ad
dictata pugnavit.

Suet. Jul. 26.3:

tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas, sed in domibus
per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum
peritos erudiebat, precibus enitens, quod epistulis eius
ostenditur, ut disciplinam singulorum susciperent,
ipsique dictata exercentibus darent.

See also Tert. ad Martyras 1.2:

Dictabitur therefore contains the implied contrast: when it comes to making a will, the gladiator is free from, but the husband is subject to, dictata.

Looking back at section 212-8, we see that Juvenal is being legalistic. He is playing throughout with the notion that the uxorious husband loses his full legal rights as a Roman citizen. In 212-3 he loses his legal right to have property, therefore to buy and sell and to make donations, see Daremberg, Saglio s.v. donatio. In 214-5, the theme of the loss of legal rights is brought in by means of a double-entendre on the word affectus. Its obvious meaning is

'affection'. But the listener aware of the legal undercurrent would detect in affectus a legal term = 'will, intention', the absence of which in the agent deprives any action of its full legal status; Gaius, Inst. 3.208:

in summa sciendum est quaesitum esse an impubes rem alienam amovendo furtum faciat. plerisque placet, quia furtus ex adfectu constitit, ita demum obligari eo crimine impuberem si proximus modo pubertati sit et ob id intellegat se delinquere.

Ulp. Dig. 21.1.17.3:

fugitivum fere ad adfectum animi intellegendum esse, non utique a fuga: nam eum qui hostem aut latronem, incendium ruinamve fugeret, quamvis fugisse verum est, non tamen fugitivum esse.

Paul. Sent. 5.4.2:

furiosus itemque infans affectu doli et captu contumeliae carent; idcirco iniuriam agi cum his non potest.

TLL refers to these other passages: Dig. 43.4.1.6; 27.6.11.3; 27.5.3; 44.7.34; 21.1.17.4; 29.7.17; 42.4.7.9; 47.10.3.1; 48.16.6.1; 41.2.3.3; Gaius, Inst. 4.178; 2.50.

Juvenal is playing on those two meanings of affectus; while talking overtly of the wife's control of her husband's affections, he introduces a punning reference to his loss of legal status.

The legal theme of the last section is a man's right to make a will, a common legal question. In this section too, Juvenal displays his fondness for word-play: tibi dictabitur has two meanings: (1) the obvious one: 'dictated to you'; (2) but since it was common practice for a person to dictate his will, and since dictare is the word commonly used for this (see Suet. Nero, 32; Dig. 32.102.1;

Cod. Just. 6.23.22; 6.23.21; Dig. 32.95; Test. Porcelli, p.241,3
 (Buecheler); Dig. 29.1.40; 28.5.9.1; Gest. de aperiund. test. in
 Bruns Fontes⁷, p.319; Dig. 48.10.15.1; 28.5.9.2) tibi rivalis
dictabitur heres, taken apart from its context would naturally be
 taken to mean "you will name your rival as your heir". In the
 same breath and by means of the same two words Juvenal makes us to
 understand that the husband will dictate his rivals as his heirs,
 and that he will have his rivals dictated to him as his heirs.

'pone crucem seruo.' 'meruit quo crimine seruus 219
 supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi; 220
 nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.' 221
 'o demens, ita seruus homo est? nil fecerit, esto: 222
 hoc uolo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione uoluntas.' 223

The last section on the uxorious husband is about one specific incident: the punishment of a slave, in which the husband's humane feelings are overridden by the wife's cruelty. The dialogue between husband and wife brings out the former's humanity bordering on the sententious, and the latter's cruelty, and ends with a pun on philosophical terms:

L'égalité des esclaves et des hommes libres est un lieu commun des philosophes, des Stoïques en particulier. Une lettre de Sénèque, Ep. 47, est dédiée tout entière à ce sujet. Pétrone 71 traite le sujet en humoriste. Cf. Cic. de off. 1.41; Sen. ben. 3.18-28; Ep. 31.11; vit. beat. 24.3; Ep. 44.4; Juvénal lui-même emploie ce lieu commun dans une autre de ses satires, 14.16-7. L'auditeur contemporain comprendrait au premier abord que Juvénal prête au mari un point de vue philosophique, et il serait sensible par la suite à toute allusion de même nature. Il ne manquerait donc pas de s'apercevoir du jeu-de-mots à base philosophique que contient sit pro ratione voluntas. Pour le lecteur non averti cette phrase signifie seulement "que ma volonté serve de raison". Telle est sa signification première. Mais le lecteur au courant du langage des philosophes saisirait l'allusion aux $\epsilonὐπαθείαι$ des Stoïques, que les Romains appellaient constantiae. (v. Von Arnim, Stoic. Vet. Fragm. vol. 3, pp. 105-8 de tribus constantiis); voluntas était une de ces $\epsilonὐπαθείαι$ ou constantiae, seules émotions permises au sage,

ou plutôt émotions que seul le sage ressentait: Cic.Tusc.4.12:

quam ob rem simul obiecta species est cuiuspiam, quod bonum videatur, ad id adipiscendum impellit ipsa natura. id cum constanter prudenterque fit, eiusmodi adpetitionem Stoici βούλησιν appellant, nos appellemus voluntatem. eam illi putant in solo esse sapiente, quam sic definiunt: voluntas est quae quid cum ratione desiderat. quae autem a ratione aversa incitata est vehementius ea libido est vel cupiditas effrenata, quae in omnibus stultis invenitur.

Cic. Tusc. 4.34:

ex ea [virtute] proficiscuntur honestae voluntates, sententiae, actiones, omnisque recta ratio, quamquam ipsa virtus brevissime recta ratio dici potest. huius igitur virtutis contraria est vitiositas ... ex qua concitantur perturbationes quae sunt, ut paulo ante diximus, turbidi animorum concitatique motus, aversi a ratione et inimicissimi mentis vitaeque tranquillae.

Nous voyons donc que voluntas diffère de cupiditas en ce qu'elle a pour base ratio ou λόγος. La femme va donc ici à l'encontre des théories stoïciennes en faisant ratio faire opposition à voluntas, comme s'il pouvait y avoir voluntas là où il n'y a pas ratio. A la signification première de sit pro ratione voluntas, "que ma volonté serve de raison", la fantaisie du satiriste vient ajouter un deuxième sens, le sens philosophique; et, de par l'effet du jeu-de-mots, la femme enfreint sur deux plans les lois de la raison. Le lieu commun sur l'esclavage nous aide à percevoir le sens philosophique de ratio et de voluntas dans ce qui suit, cependant que le ton péremptoire et autoritaire de la femme nous fait d'abord entendre voluntas et ratio dans leur sens premier et non-spécialisé.

imperat ergo uiro. sed mox haec regna relinquit	224
permutatque domos et flammea conterit; inde	225
auolat et spreti repetit uestigia lecti.	226
ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia linquit	227
uela domus et adhuc uirides in limine ramos.	228
sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti	229
quinque per autumnos, titulo res digna sepulcri.	230

Juvenal now passes to an entirely new section: from the authoritarian wife to the one who goes from husband to husband. We have two different characters, and Juvenal, using a technique he has already used in this satire (38-44) makes the same person be first the one character and then the other, so as to make smooth the transition from one section to the other. The seeming continuity produced by making the wife, so to speak, change masks, allows the transition from one episode to another to be cleverly effected. This transition is carried out in one line, 224. Imperat ergo viro summarizes 205-23. It shows us the woman exercising empire over her husband. Then in the second half of the line she changes this empire for another: sed mox haec regna relinquit. The transition is now effected. In the rest of the section we shall hear no more of empire, only of change. The function of imperat ergo viro is to reduce the whole of 205-23 to one picture, of a woman ruling over an empire, so that, as she abandons it, we may pass with her imperceptibly from the theme of the authoritarian wife to that of the divorce-loving wife. (For a similar technique, see 1.144, which has been wrongly suspected.)

The description of the wife leaving her first husband and marrying the second is done by means of a tricolon, the last colon containing the humorous touch of the bridal veil being worn away by such regular use. Then the suddenness of her second change of heart and her fickleness are expressed in the asyndeton and the force given to auolat by

the enjambement which places it first in 226; 226 ends in a

παρὰ πρὸς δὲ κίαν ; in this context of going to and fro,

repetit vestigia inevitably suggests 'retraces her footsteps'. Scholars reading this line must have felt this, but nobody since Lubinus seems to have allowed himself to take this natural meaning of repetit vestigia:

per eadem vestigia eandemque viam per quam maritum
deseruerat ad maritum revertitur.

When we hear lecti we realize that we have been misled and that vestigia meant not 'footsteps' but the marks on the bed, a common meaning, see Ov. A. 1.8.97, and see Friedlaender and Duff ad loc. Lecti then is παρὰ πρὸς δὲ κίαν and suddenly flashes before our eyes an unexpected bedroom picture.

The section then concludes with two tricola. The first an ascending tricolon describing impressively the pomp surrounding the marriage ceremony. And, in the circumstances, the more impressive the preparations, the greater the irony; and the first tricolon ends with a humorous picture of the garland still vividly green on the door as the wife leaves home. The first two cola of the second tricolon are also in ascending order, and contain anaphora of sic, offering the usual Juvenalian contrast of high style and low subject-matter. And the third colon is a comment in lapidary style, the force of the blow being kept back for the last word, sepulcri, which makes vivid at the last moment the humorous contrast between the epitaph of the univira and that of the satirist's victim. A contrast well prepared for by the emphasis on numbers in 229-30: first the indefinite numerus, which is then concretely defined in octo, quinque. For a similar play on numbers, see 641-2, and note there.

desperanda tibi salua concordia socru.	231
illa docet spoliis nudi gaudere mariti,	232
illa docet missis a corruptore tabellis	233
nil rude nec simplex rescribere, decipit illa	234
custodes aut aere domat, tum corpore sano	235
aduocat Archigenen onerosaque pallia iactat.	236
abditus interea latet et secretus adulter	237
inpatiensque morae silet et praeputia ducit.	238
scilicet expectas ut tradat mater honestos	239
atque alios moresquam quos habet? utile porro	240
filiolam turpi uetulae producere turpem.	241

There is a double link between this section and the preceding:

(1) an obvious thematic link: concordia refers back contrastingly to the frequent change of husbands of 224-230. Concordia was impossible with such a wife. So here concordia is impossible with the wife whose mother is still alive. Concordia is frequently used of the entente between husband and wife. (v. TLL s.v. concordia, which quotes 22 examples.) It binds together the section on divorce and that on the disruptive influence of the socrus.

(2) A partly verbal, partly visual link depending on the thematic link (1). TLL loc. cit. quotes four instances where the concordia which existed between husband and wife is lauded on their tombstone: CIL 2.3596, 6.1527, 9.3158, 12.5923; and TLL adds "saepius in titulis laudatur".

Section 224-230 ended with "titulo res digna sepulchri".

Concordia in 231, being a word associated with the titulus on the tomb, continues the mental image of the tombstone and epitaph from 230 into 231.

After the link-line, the actions of the mother-in-law are described in an ascending tricolon: illa ... mariti, illa ... rescribere,

decipit ... iactat. Inside the three cola there are anaphora and variatio: illa docet, illa docet, decipit illa.

Cola 2 and 3, however, are added to one another and form part of the same action, the arrangement of a rendezvous with the wife's lover at the mother-in-law's house. Colon 1 seems at first sight not to belong to the same sequence of events and to be alien to it. We shall see below what its relevance is in this context. If the effectiveness of the tricolon is not to be lost it must be quite clear to the listener that decipit illa ... pallia iactat is one colon. The fullstop printed by Clausen between domat and tum in 235 is therefore misleading and breaks the rhythm. The colon must be read as one unit: four finite verbs in a series reflect the mother-in-law's expertise in such trickery; she knows exactly what to do and does it; in two verbs she deals with the guards, then (tum) in two verbs she feigns illness. A comma is the strongest permissible punctuation before tum, if this quick succession of actions is to be preserved.

Spoliis nudi gaudere mariti.

Spoliis and nudi contain a word-play on the military sense of both words. Spolia in the present context is the expense which the husband incurs on account of his wife. But one of the commonest meanings of spolia is the armour stripped from an enemy fallen in battle. This second meaning of spolia is felt here and picked up by nudi; nudus in military contexts being often used to mean "stripped of, unprotected by, armour". c.f. Sall.B.J. 107, Liv. 5.45, 3.19, 3.23, 1.27. In the context of the despoiled husband the immediate meaning of nudus would be 'destitute', a common meaning of the word in Juvenal. c.f. 5.163, 7.35, 14.308, 3.210, 4.49.

illa docet ... nil rude nec simplex rescribere.

See Ovid A. 2.4.13-18:

sive procax aliqua est, capior quia rustica non est
 spemque dat in molli mobilis esse toro;
 aspera si visa est rigidasque imitata Sabinas
 velle sed ex alto dissimulare puto.
 sive es docta, places raras dotata per artes.
 sive rudis, placita es simplicitate tua.

AA. 3.107-114:

corpora si veteres non sic coluere puellae
 nec veteres cultos sic habuere viros ...
 simplicitas rudis ante fuit; nunc aurea Roma est
 et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes.

AA. 1.241-2:

tunc aperit mentes aevo rarissima nostro
 simplicitas, artes excutiente deo

These three passages put the meaning of rude and simplex in focus. The mother teaches her daughter to reply like a docta puella, to reply with ars, i.e. not just to say a plain 'yes' or a plain 'no', but to somehow keep the lover burning, to be artful. What she actually does is not clear. Juvenal, like the woman, keeps us guessing. It is only in the last line (as we shall see below) that he makes his meaning, and her reply, plain.

The scene of the adultery is set in the mother-in-law's house, and not in the daughter's house. The scholiast says so, and Peter Green is quite right in accepting his interpretation against that of editors from Lubinus to Duff who have unnecessarily set the scene in the wife's own house, an interpretation which does violence to the Latin.

Editors are conveniently divided into two groups:

A. Friedlaender, Duff, Knoche; these editors think that the mother-in-law is the subject of docet (232), docet (233), decipit, domat, but that thereafter it is the wife who is the subject of advocat, iactat. Friedlaender and Duff admit that this is a difficult interpretation, but do not see that it is unnecessary. They are forced into it because they have prejudged the issue by assuming that the act of adultery takes place in the wife's house.

Another group of scholars, B, (Ramsay, Labriolle et Villeneuve, Ruperti) avoid the change of subject and interpret the passage thus: "Then, although her daughter is in good health, she (the mother-in-law) calls the doctor and tosses off the blankets".

This interpretation in turn contains two difficulties:

- (a) In corpore sano advocat Archigenen the subject of advocat should naturally be the person who is corpore sano, whereas by the interpretation of the group B scholars it is the wife who is corpore sano, and her mother who advocat Archigenen.
- (b) The natural interpretation of onerosa pallia iactat would refer it to the action of the person feigning illness and tossing and turning in bed as if she found the bed-clothes too heavy to bear. c.f. Ovid, H. 21. 170, A. 1.2.2, Prop. 4.3.31, Lucretius, 2.36.

What is happening is that the mother-in-law, having struck a bargain with the would-be adulterer, pretends to be ill; she tosses and turns in her bed, calls the doctor. Her daughter comes to visit her. But the custos comes too. (For the custos in an exactly parallel situation, see the passages of Ovid quoted below.) The mother-in-law cajoles or bribes him, and the adulterers have the required freedom.

This is all very compressed in Juvenal, and consequently not very clear: it is not quite clear, for example, when the bribing and cajoling of

the guard takes place. It seems to be out of its proper place in the sequence of events; the ancient reader, however, would find it easier to visualise the *mise-en-scène* on account of his familiarity with the theme: it seems that a visit to a sick friend or relative was a stock excuse for getting out to meet a lover, and the custos was often in the way: Ov.A. 2.2.21-22 (addressed to a custos):

ibit ad affectam quae non languebit amicam;
visat, iudiciis aegra sit illa tuis.

Ovid, AA.3.633-642:

quid faciat custos, cum sint tot in urbe theatra ...
cum, quotiens opus est, fallax aegrotet amica
et cedat lecto quamlibet aegra suo.

Martial, 11.7:

iam certe stupido non dices, Palla, marito,
ad moechum quotiens longius ire voles ...
infelix, quid ages? aegram simulabis amicam?
haerebit dominae vir comes ipse suae,
ibit et ad fratrem tecum matremque patremque.

The ancient audience would get the point: the mother is pretending to be ill to give her daughter an excuse to leave her husband's house to come to her own so as to meet the lover.

The description of the adulterer in hiding makes him subdued: he is abditus et secretus; he latet and silet; praeputia ducit after all this self-control offers a strong contrast and startles the listener with the gross and humorous picture of the adulterer ready for the fray.

After the narrative of events leading to the startling praeputia ducit, the conclusion in three lines, (239-41), ending in a general sententia. It is in this section that the mother-in-law's purpose

is revealed: she is conducting the intrigue with a view to profit. We notice in retrospect that simplex 234 pointed forward to this. We saw above that Juvenal kept us guessing as to what the hot rudis and simplex answer to the lover's letter was. We can now see in what her lack of simplicitas consisted; cf. Ovid, A. 1.10.11-14:

cur sim mutatus quaeris? quia munera poscis.

haec te non patitur causa placere mihi.

donec eras simplex, animum cum corpore amavi;

nunc mentis vitio laesa figura tua est.

We see in retrospect that the wife's lack of simplicitas, her artfulness, consisted in saying not 'yes', but 'yes, at a price'. producere in addition to its obvious sense of 'bring up', common in Juvenal, may contain the suggestion of 'putting on sale', as Lubinus suggested. Utile means 'financially rewarding' as commonly in Juvenal. c.f. 6.359, 7.96, 7.135, 9.27, 12.52, and also 6.210, where it appears, as I argue it does here, in responsion to spoliis. (See note there).

For porro see Friedlaender ad loc.

The section and the sententia end with a line on the V A B B A pattern, the epic rhythm contrasting with the low theme. (See Appendix IA, example 358.

Juvenal's mother-in-law is the lena of elegiac poetry. c.f. Prop. 4.5, Tib. 1.5.47ff., 2.6.44, Ov.A. 1.8. Awareness of literary antecedents and Juvenal's variations on them increases the reader's pleasure: the lena in elegy teaches her protégée to plunder her lovers and make money by selling them her favours; Juvenal's lena/mater teaches her daughter to plunder her husband, and to make money by selling her favours to adulterers. By putting colon 1, illa docet spoliis ... mariti, together with the two following cola, Juvenal signposts his literary variation on a theme: this woman is like the elegiac lena's

pupil up to a point; but she is unlike her in that she, the wife, has a husband and lovers to plunder. Her elegiac counterpart has no husband, only lovers, to plunder. The audience are made to think, "how does illa docet spoliis ... mariti fit into all that follows?", and so to see that to the literary topic in which all this would go together, that of the lena and her protégée, has been added this element, contained in colon 1, which is peculiar to the situation in Juvenal. This answers our question, asked at the beginning of this section, on the link between the first colon of the opening tricolon and the two that succeed it.

nulla fere causa est in qua non femina litem	242
mouerit. accusat Manilia, si rea non est.	243
componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos,	244
principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae.	245

Juvenal now writes a short four-line section on women's fondness for litigation. Forensic activity was considered fit only for males, and unnatural for women. It is clear from the context of Satire 2. 51-53 that for women to take part in the activities of the law-court was regarded as a mark of sexual aberration or perversion. Women's forensic activities are there associated with more overtly sexual perversions (2.43-50), and the equivalent, the satirist implies, would be for men to spin wool (54-57); and he then goes on to speak of overtly sexual perversions again (58-61).

Here, however, the implications of sexual aberration are absent, (but see below, p. 221) and the section develops towards the culmination of law-court expertise, the women preparing their own briefs according to the strict rules of the schools of rhetoric. cf. Friedlaender and Duff ad loc. for principium, locos and Celsus. Duff also refers to Quintilian 12.8.5 where the latter disapproves of the very thing Manilia and her like are doing here:

pessimae vero consuetudinis,
libellis esse contentum quos componit
aut litigator qui confugit ad patronum
quia liti ipse non sufficit, aut aliquis
ex eo genere advocatorum qui se non posse
agere confitentur, deinde faciunt id quod
est in agendo difficillimum. nam qui
iudicare quid dicendum quid dissimulandum
quid declinandum mutandum fingendum etiam

sit potest, cur non sit orator quando, quod
difficilius est, oratorem facit?

Quintilian disapproves of (a) the patronus who merely delivers a speech written by the party he is representing; (b) the patronus who delivers a speech composed by what we might call the 'theoretical' rhetorician, i.e. one who can compose speeches skilfully but who confesses that he is not able to deliver them in court. Manilia and her friends share characteristics of both cases criticized by Quintilian: (a) they compose a speech for a trial in which they are a party, (b) they put into it all the niceties of the schools of rhetoric just as skilfully as a real rhetor, a Celsus, might. (Celso ... paratae = having the required skill to ...). This conflation gives the last line its point: a party composing its own libellus might be expected to be amateurish at it; but not Manilia and her friends; not them.

Juvenal makes no attempt to provide a link between this section and the preceding. From the mother-in-law who disturbs the felicity of the home, we pass without transition to litigating women. We have seen Juvenal straining very hard on occasion to provide a link, and observe that the lack of link here seems untypical of our author.

W.S. Anderson (II) does not tackle this problem in his article on the structure of this satire:

"Such valuable knowledge comes from the sage advice of her mother. And the whole calculating character of wives, as inculcated by their mothers, is symbolized in the next vignette. They can engage in law-suits and conduct them with a skill that belies their sex. 242-3."

Anderson has interpolated his own link. Highet notices the lack of continuity, but tackles the problem half-heartedly, and not very clearly; see Highet, p. 267.

endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma	246
quis nescit, uel quis non uidit uulnera pali,	247
quem cauat adsiduis rudibus scutoque lacessit	248
atque omnis implet numeros dignissima prorsus	249
Florali matrona tuba,	250

The link between 242-5 and 246-7 is the theme of unfeminine activities: from one unfeminine activity, litigation, we pass to woman athletes (246-7 ... nescit) and, more precisely, to women undergoing gladiatorial-type training (247 vel quis - 267). This is a natural transition, and we see the two themes, litigating women and women athletes, treated in close proximity in 2.51-53:

numquid nos agimus causas, civilia iura
 novimus aut ullo strepitu fora vestra movemus?
 luctantur paucae, comedunt coloephia paucae.

And the transition from general athletic exercises to specifically gladiatorial ones is also natural. cf. Mart. 7.32.

In the description of the athletic activities of women, the 'woman' element is casually introduced by means of only one word, femineum, but its force applies back to endromidas Tyrias.
endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma.

This verse pours sarcasm on the Greek luxury of the women. endromis and ceroma are Greek words. endromis was a coarse, thick, cloak worn after exercising to protect oneself from chills, and ceroma the mud wrestling floor; (see Reinmuth, "The meaning of ceroma in Juvenal and Martial", Phoenix, 21 (1967) 191-5). It is clear from the word itself and from J.3.103 and M.4.19 that the endromis was a cloak of Greek origin. Reinmuth argues convincingly that the practice of wrestling attacked by Juvenal, Martial, and others was scorned as being a Greek practice. The endromis we know from M.4.19 to have been

a heavy, coarse, and cheap cloak, and M.14.126 makes both points, that it is cheap, (a poor man's gift), but that its use is associated with luxurious, qua Greek-aping, pastimes, (its use is not a poor man's). By making his women use Tyrian endromids - for Martial (4.19) they were Spartan - Juvenal satyrizes them doubly: for luxury in taking part in Greek-aping athletics at all; for feminine double luxury in dyeing with Tyrian purple traditionally cheap cloaks. (The use of Tyrian for this purpose being perhaps suggested by M.4.19). This Greekishness of the women is further scorned in the spondaic ending, see Appendix IA, example 277.

This theme of Greek luxury, so heavily underscored at the start of this section, does not seem to be picked up later.

From women-athletes as a whole, the satirist narrows the field down with vel to women practising gladiatorial exercises. He builds up his description towards the punch-line in 249-50

dignissima prorsus

Floralis matrona tuba,

The force of the punch is in the sudden and arresting comparison of the woman-gladiator with a mimic actress at the Floralia. This is how Juvenal contrives his effect:

three phrases describe the woman's fencing-exercises at the stake. (For which see Veg. 1.11): vulnera pali, cavat adsiduis rudibus, scutoque lacescit; all these activities are summed up in the following phrase, atque omnes implet numeros, and numeros serves as the common term that takes the hearer from the gladiatorial activities to those of the mimic stage. There is more than one meaning in numeros; the rhetorical build-up, vulnera pali, cavat adsiduis rudibus, scutoque lacescit, points forward to the first meaning of numeros, the thrusts and parries of gladiatorial training; but numeros is also a term

used to describe moving to music, (see lexx.s.v. numerus), and this second sense of numeros is the one that leads us into the humorous comparison with the activities of the mime-actresses at the Floralia.

The Floralis tuba is the musical instrument played at the mimes of the Floralia, when mime-actresses performed naked. For tubae in the theatre, see 10.214; Sen.Ep. 84.10:

In commissionibus

nostris plus cantorum est quam in theatris olim
spectatorum fuit. Cum omnes vias ordo canentium im-
levit et cavea aeneatoribus cincta est et ex pulpito
omne tibiaram genus organorumque consonuit, fit con-
centus ex dissonis.

As the tuba was associated with both theatrical and gladiatorial displays, its presence here is a common term referring like numeros to arena and mime-performance.

The dances of mime-actresses, never of the chastest, must have been particularly obscene during the Floralia, when they performed naked. Cf. Lactant. 1.20.

Celebrantur ergo illi

ludi cum omni lascivia, convenienter memoriae meretricis.
Nam praeter verborum licentiam quibus obscoenitas omnis
effunditur, exuuntur etiam vestibus populo flagitante
meretrices, quae tunc mimarum funguntur officio, et in
conspectu populi usque ad satietatem impudicorum luminum
cum pudendis motibus detinentur.

Martial, 1. Praef.:

Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare
Florales. Non intret Cato theatrum meum, aut si intra-
verit, spectet. Videor mihi meo iure facturum si

epistolam versibus clusero:

nossas iocosae dulce cum sacrum Florae
 festosque lusus et licentiam vulgi,
 cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
 an ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?

Martial 1.35:

versus scribere me parum severos
 nec quos praelegat in schola magister,
 Corneli, quereris: sed hi libelli
 tamquam coniugibus suis mariti
 non possunt sine mentula placere.
 quid si me iubeas Talassionem
 verbis dicere non Talassionis?
 quis Floralia vestit et stolatum
 permittit meretricibus pudorem?

Cf. also Ovid, Fast. 4.945, 5.183-378, Val.Max. 2.10.8,
 Sen.Ep. 97.8, Aug.civ.dei. 2.27, Epist. 91.5, de cons.evangel. 1.33,
 Arnob. adv.nat. 7.33, Auson. ecl. 24.25.

It also appears from Mart. 1.35, Ov. Fast. 5.349, Sen.Ep. 97.8,
 Lactant. 1.20, Arnob. adv.nat. 7.33, that at the Floralia the
 performance was by meretrices. In the sentence starting at vel quis
non vidit ... (247), the subject is postponed and the audience kept in
 suspense until 249: the subject is then revealed in 249, dignissima ...
Florali matrona tuba, the implication being that the woman, the matrona,
 is no better than a meretrix; that the numeros she performs are the
numeros of the prostitutes' dance, which are what Lactantius (above)
 calls pudendis motibus, i.e. to be equated with the numeri of love-
 making. numeri thereby acquires a third meaning. All those implications
 Juvenal packs into the four words dignissima ... Florali matrona tuba.

nisi si quid in illo	250
pectore plus agitat ueraeque paratur harenae?	251
quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem,	252
quae fugit a sexu? vires amat. haec tamen ipsa	253
uir nollet fieri; nam quantula nostra uoluptas!	254

There is a clear pause after Florali matrona tuba. We saw how there was a build-up towards this epigrammatic ending and its sarcastic comparison. With nisi si quid a new section starts, which ends with quantula nostra voluptas (254). Syntactically, nisi si quid is united to what precedes, but as far as rhetorical structure is concerned, the pause for applause and admiration after tuba is sufficient for the reciter to be able to start afresh, leaving what precedes behind him completed and forgotten.

A sensitive reading of the passage will show that after the punch of Florali matrona tuba, nisi ... harenae could not have the force required for the conclusion of a section. Rather, nisi ... harenae introduces a new idea, that the woman may be thinking of taking part in real gladiatorial combat (as opposed to mere gladiatorial exercises). This new idea serves to introduce the digression on pudor (occupying 252-4): the satirist says that a mulier galeata (as the woman is) could well be thinking of becoming a real gladiator, for she has no pudor. (Although the idea of pudor seems to be forgotten after 252, we shall see that it is not). Fugit a sexu speaks to mulier galeata: the mulier galeata, by her accoutrement, seems to be wanting to fly from her sex (i.e. her womanhood). She does this because she likes vires, strength. To seek vires is to attempt to fly from one's womanhood (sexus) in one respect; but that same woman would not be prepared to escape from her sexus entirely: she would not, in fact, want to change the essential part of her sex, her sexual

organs. vir speaks to vires: the woman wants vires, but does not want to be vir. sexus which, when speaking to mulier galeata, means something vague like 'womanhood', when speaking to vir and quantula nostra voluptas acquires its more precise meaning of 'sexual organs' (for the play of words on sexus, see note on 341). The woman while willing to fugere a sexu by putting on men's clothes and performing men's exercises, would not fugere a sexu by actually changing organs: for females' organs are so much better at feeling pleasure (see commentaries for this). quantula nostra voluptas is the striking and lapidary conclusion. It picks up the idea of pudor: for a Roman matron, what greater shamelessness could there be than this attachment to sexual voluptas? (See note on 191). So, lack of pudor, expressed at the start as willingness to fight in the arena, is now transformed into attachment to sexual voluptas.

I have expounded 252-4 at length because although their general sense is plain, the verbal wit, the shifting meaning of words, is difficult to grasp. And, in my view, the verbal wit is the essence of these three lines which, as far as their sense and thought are concerned, are, to say the least, trite.

quale decus, rerum si coniugis auctio fiat,	255
balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri	256
dimidium tegimen! uel si diuersa mouebit	257
proelia, tu felix ocreas uendente puella.	258

After the digression on pudor we return to the woman-gladiator in a four-line section in which the satirist imagines an auction at which the wife sells her gladiatorial equipment to the intense embarrassment of her husband. The satirist's technique is to describe the auction in detail, using enumeration (balteus, manicae, cristae, cruris ... tegimen) to paint the scene clearly, and then to conclude with a pithy sententia which expresses tersely and pointedly the idea which has been expressed lengthily and in detail. The sententia here is: felix ... puella; "happy you, in your greave-selling girl".

By going on to what the woman would sell if she favoured the armament of a Thrax (two leg-guards instead of one) after enumerating the things she would sell if she used Samnite armour (for Samnite, Oplomachus, Secutor and Thrax, see Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. Gladiator, pp. 1583-8) the satirist does not make a further logical point. The change from the consideration of the one to that of the other is a device that allows the satirist to effect the stylistic trick described above, the repetition in a terse phrase of an idea which has been expressed at length before. The fact that the Thraces wore two leg-guards while the Samnite, Oplomachus, and Secutor only wore one, on the left leg, is of no importance for the point the satirist makes in this section, that the husband would feel shame at such an auction. Be his wife Samnite or Thrax, two-greaved or one-greaved, his shame will be the same. The detail is factually unimportant, important stylistically in that it gives the satirist a pretext for a pointed conclusion, tu felix ... puella, after the ground-work has been done by the first

part, rerum si coniugis ... tegimen.

Labriolle & Villeneuve's translation, "Quel agrément aussi si ta jeune femme, ayant choisi un autre genre d'escrime, s'en allait vendre ses cuissards", mistranslates si diversa movebit. The wife is not selling her greaves because she is changing to another type of gladiatorial combat. Ramsay seems to translate correctly: "or, if she fight another sort of battle ..."; P. Green's "or if the other style

Of fighting takes her fancy imagine your delight when

The dear girl sells off her greaves".

seems to contain the same mistake as Labriolle & Villeneuve.

Si ... proelia = if your wife should fight Thrax-style, i.e. if you should happen to have a wife who fights Thrax-style instead of one who fights in the other style. There is no question of the wife changing from one style to another, as the translations of Green and Labriolle & Villeneuve imply. Juvenal considers two cases, and says, if your wife is a Samnite, she will sell this; if a Thrax, she will sell that. If the wife were changing from being a Samnite to being a Thrax, she would not be selling ocreas, she would be buying one ocrea.

hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum	259
delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit.	260
aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus	261
et quanto galeae curuetur pondere, quanta	262
poplitibus sedeat quam denso fascia libro,	263
et ride positis scaphium cum sumitur armis.	264

The fascia, (translated here by Green as puttees, and by Ramsay as bandages) are mentioned in Daremberg, *Saglio* (s.v. gladiator) as not belonging to any particular type of gladiator:

Notons aussi que certaines pieces du costume étaient communes à toutes les armes, ou du moins pouvaient être portées également par des gladiateurs d'armes différentes; telles sont par exemple les FASCIAE, c'est-à-dire les bandes d'étoffe ou de cuir qui entouraient les jambes.

Although the present passage of Juvenal is the only literary evidence quoted ad loc., fasciae are illustrated in figs. 3578, 3579, 3581, 3585. The puttees in Juvenal are made of denso libro, i.e. probably some material made from the bark of a plant. Cf. the use to which papyrus bark was put: Plin. NH. 13.72:

ex ipso quidem papyro navigia texunt et e libro vela
tegetesque, nec non et vestem, etiam stragula ac funes.

This is a six-line section on the virile dress of the woman-gladiators. The daintiness and delicacy of the women in normal circumstances is stressed in two lines, in an asyndetic dicolon with anaphora, by means of tenui cyclade, delicias, bombycinus, and the diminutive panniculus; the Greek words, cyclade, bombycinus, emphasizing the luxury, cf. Lucr. 4.1123-30. Their virility when indulging in gladiatorial exercises is contrasted with this (261-263) and

exaggerated: the woman bends under the weight of her helmet, her fascia is extremely wide, and made of extremely thick material, she roars in the effort. Almost every word adds to the effect of hardness and virility (fremitu, perferat ictus, curvetur, pondere, quanta, quam denso), as does also the structure of the three lines, an ascending tricolon, with a single exclamation in each of the first two cola, (quo fremitu, quanto pondere), and a double intertwined one in the third (quanta quam denso fascia libro). And then comes the humorous conclusion provided by the sharp contrast of the virility of 260-3 with the femininity of 264, the contrast being coarse and humorous, because instead of the point of comparison being the woman's attire, (as it was between 259-60 and 261-3), it is the kind of urinal she uses: she may wear manly dress when practising her fencing, but when she has to urinate, it is a woman's urinal she uses. For scaphium see the references in Friedlaender, especially Pollux 10.45:

καὶ δίφρον δ' ἂν εἴποις τὰ λάσανα ἐν φηρότερον, καὶ
δίφρισκον. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ σκάφιον.

The unexpected coarseness after the impressive and vigorously expressed display of virility of 261-3 makes a pointed ending to the section.

dicite uos, neptes Lepidi caeciae Metelli	265
Gurgitis aut Fabii, quae ludia sumpserit umquam	266
hos habitus? quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli?	267

This three-line section ends the satirist's attack on women-gladiators. In it he contrasts the behaviour of the women concerned, which is worthy of the lowest classes of the population, with their nobility. This is the first mention of the women's noble birth. Nothing in what precedes indicated that the women under attack belonged to ancient Roman families. Nobility, or lack of it, has been up to this point entirely irrelevant. The new aspect, essential to the last section, is introduced in 265-266 ... Fabii; the satirist addresses the women, and addresses them as descendants of distinguished Roman families: this is not only a rhetorical device, which makes the section more lively, but also a trick of style, which allows the poet to bring in, without apparent effort, an entirely new idea, that of nobility.

The idea of nobility is established in exactly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines, - the caesura in 266 occurring after Fabii - by means of the enumeration, in ascending order, and with variation, of three names: Lepidi, caeciae Metelli, Gurgitis aut Fabii; and contrasting with the nobility of the women-gladiators, in $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines, the women of humble birth, who would for all that never take part in such degrading activities. The satirist asks two rhetorical questions, in succession, one concerning a ludia, and the other, the culmination of the section, about uxor Asyli. The proper name at the end of the section gives vividness to the satirist's attack, the appearance of being directed at a particular person, uxor Asyli, the lowest woman in Rome.

Is the name Asylus itself of any significance? Ramsay, Duff, Green rely on the scholiast, who in turn relies on the context and

probably nothing else when he writes: "Asylus - nomen gladiatoris." Friedlaender points out that Asylus is the name of a slave in Martial 9. 103.3; and there are other examples of Asylus as a slave-name; see TLL s.v. Asylus. It could be that Asylus is here a type-name = the typical slave. It is also possible that Juvenal means his audience to be put in mind by the context - that of the contrast between the noble and the ignoble - of Romulus' Asylum, to which, according to Livy, 1.8:

ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber
an servus esset ...

took refuge.

c.f. 8.269-275, where nobility and Romulus' asylum are mentioned together:

malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Volcaniaque arma capessas,
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
et tamen, ut longe repetas longaeque revolvās
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo;
maiorum primus, quisquis fuit ille, tuorum
aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

By choosing a typical slave-name that would remind his audience of the low origin of the oldest Roman families, Juvenal gives an unexpected learned twist to this conclusion, by this juxtaposition of nobles and a reminiscence of their low descent, suggesting that even in the days when there was little or no distinction between a Metella and uxor Asyli, a Metella (who might in those days have actually seen a uxor Asyli) would not have behaved so disgracefully.

P.W. s.v. Asylus brings together these two passages of Juvenal, but still favours the scholiast's suggestion that Asylus is here a gladiator's name. Cf. also Lucan 7.439 and for other references to the infamy of the early Romans, see Mayor on 8.273.

semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus	268
in quo nupta iacet; minimum dormitur in illo.	269
tum grauis illa uiro, tunc orba tigride peior,	270
cum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti,	271
aut odit pueros aut ficta paelice plorat	272
uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis	273
in statione sua atque expectantibus illam,	274
quo iubeat manare modo. tu credis amorem,	275
tu tibi tunc, uruca, places fletumque labellis	276
exorbes, quae scripta et quot lecture tabellas	277
si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae!	278

No proper link is established between this section and the preceding.

It could be said that the woman-gladiator's fighting spirit is carried from the gladiatorial exercise-ground to the marriage-bed. But this link would have to be provided by our imagination, and it is not even hinted at in the text. It is not a link of the kind Juvenal has used up to now in this satire. (But see below, p. 221).

The situation described in 270-5 is this: the wife is trying to make her husband believe that she loves him, but the way in which she does this is most unpleasant, and destructive of his peace and quiet.

271 has been constantly misinterpreted. Ramsay, for example, translates: "conscious of her own secret slips, she affects a grievance..." i.e. Ramsay takes the occultum factum to be the wife's, and the cause of her tears and jealousy her desire to hide her own misdemeanour. It is much more likely, however, that we are to feel the force of simulat all through 271, and that the occultum factum is the husband's; i.e. the wife pretends that she knows of some secret affair of her husband's and simulates tears of jealousy.

The looseness and imprecision of Juvenal's syntax which has misled editors would be less baffling to an ancient audience who would

visualize more clearly the exact context of simulated jealousy and would recognize in Juvenal's description a parody of one of the injunctions in Ovid's Ars Amatoria. Ovid is counselling women on how to make men love them: A.A. 3. 673-80:

efficite (et facile est) ut nos credamus amari:

prona venit cupidis in sua vota fides.

spectet amabilius iuvenem et suspiret ab imo

femina, tam sero cur veniatque roget;

accedant lacrimae dolor et de paelice fictus

et laniet digitis illius ora suis.

iamdudum persuasus erit; miserebitur ultro

et dicet 'cura carpitur ista mei'

The subject-matter in Ovid and Juvenal is clearly the same, simulated jealousy, except that Juvenal has transferred to a marital context Ovid's advice to a demi-mondaine.

There are also verbal echoes: Juvenal's credis amorem echoing Ovid's credamus amari, and ficta paelice plorat echoing dolor ... de paelice fictus. There is, strictly, no reason why Juvenal, adapting Ovid, should not alter details in his description, and strictly, the Ovidian parallel is no proof that occulti conscia facti does not mean what editors say it means. I would argue, however, that the context in Juvenal, both on its own, and because of the comparison which it would prompt with the Ovid, would lead Juvenal's audience, keyed in to Ovidian references, to interpret occulti conscia facti as "(pretending to be) aware of her husband's secret doings"; just as the mistress in Ovid implies that her lover has spent part of the night with another woman before coming to her.

Moreover, with the traditional explanation we are told that she feigns grief aware of her own guilt, or hates her husband's delicati,

or cries because of some imaginary rival. The aut is the wrong connection between the three cola, or rather between the first and the two others; it seems odd and illogical that the last two cola, so alike in theme, (jealousy of a rival lover), should be set parallel to a first colon from which they differ in content. The logic is much more satisfactory with my interpretation and a repunctuation: a colon after facti instead of a comma. We then have the following structure: 11.268-9 introduce the section: where there is a wife, there is quarrelling and no sleep. Then an instance of this quarrelling is given: the two temporal clauses, containing anaphora, asyndeton, and incrementum (for which, see Q.8.4.3) build up the expectation for the revelation of the apodosis, the cum clause, which announces the theme: "simulated tears of jealousy". There punctuate with a colon, and the theme is exemplified in two parallel cola introduced by aut; her tears of jealousy occasioned by her husband's imaginary misdemeanour with puer delicatus or mistress exemplify simulat ... facti. The woman cries pretending she knows of some misdemeanour between her husband and pueri, or between her husband and a mistress.

tum gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride peior is Juvenal's adaptation of Ovid's et laniet digitis illius ora suis: and aut odit pueros, the wife's jealousy for her husband's pueri delicati, is Juvenal's own scabrous addition to the Ovid.

It seems necessary to point out that the cum of 271 is correlative to tum and tunc of 270; "Then is she hard on her husband, then is she worse than a tigress robbed of her young, when ...".

It is strange that the two current English translations miss this elementary point; Ramsay:

"The bed that holds a wife is never free from wrangling
and mutual bickerings; no sleep is to be got there! It
is there that she sets upon her husband ..."

P. Green:

"The bed that contains a wife is always hot with quarrels
And mutual bickerings: sleep's the last thing you get there,
This is her battle-ground, her station for husband-baiting:
In bed she's worse than a tiger robbed of its young ..."

The description of the flow of tears produced to order is Juvenal's
humorous amplification of Ovid's accedant lacrimae. It may also refer
more specifically to another related poem of Ovid's, *Amores*, 1.8,
especially ll. 83-4:

quin etiam discant oculi lacrimare coacti,
et faciant udas ille vel ille genas.

The husband's reaction to his wife's play-acting is contained in a
tricolon: tu ... amorem, tu tibi ... places, fletumque ... exorbes,
followed by the pointed conclusion si tibi zelotypae ... moechae. The
usual situation is that in which we have a couple, married or not, and
of the couple, one is a moechus or moecha, with the result that the
other is jealous, zelotypus or zelotypa. Cf. Men. *Fr.* 406-410:

σχέτλι' Ἔρως
ὥς κατὰ κράτος μ' εἰληφας. ἐφίλησεν τότε
ἄδελφόν οὐχὶ μοιχόν. ὁ δ' ἄλυστ' ἐγὼ
καὶ ζήλότυπος ἄνθρωπος ἀνακρίναι δέον
εὐθὺς ἐπαρῶν σου

Herodas, Zelotypos; *A.P.* 5.151; Plato, *Symp.* 213d; Apul. *Met.* 9.16;
Petr. 45, 69; Lucian, *Dial. mer.* 8, 9, 12.

Here, however, the zelotypa is herself the moecha, and this
surprising collocation forms an impressive pointed ending.

Is there a reference here to the mime? One of the commonest

mime plots, as we saw at 44, was one concerned with adultery, with three main characters, the husband, the unfaithful wife, moecha, and the lover; we know that stupidus was the name given to the actor who played the part of the husband, and Martial is probably using mimic terms in 11.7:

iam certe stupido non dices, Paula, marito

ad moechum quotiens longius ire voles ...

In 8.196-7 Juvenal is speaking of the mimic stage, and zelotypus is one of the words used:

quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit

zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?

This is not sufficient to infer that Juvenal necessarily has a mime situation in mind here.

The scholiast's note on uruca is however intriguing:

'Uruca mimologi stupidi nomen finxit, qui a femina

sua sic frequenter fallitur, cum agit personam mariti.'

If the scholiast's information is correct, and Uruca was the name of a stupidus - we have a Corinthus in Juvenal, quoted above, and a Panniculus in Martial 2.72.4; 3.86; 5.61.12; - there is no doubt that Juvenal is thinking of the mime, and that his humorous conclusion refers specifically to a mime situation, which would make the unification of moecha/zelotypus more humorous by making it more specific in reference. See note on 43-4. But one cannot be sure how far one is to trust the scholiast. There is no evidence to corroborate his statement, and it could be an inference from 8.197, prompted by the similarity between 6.278 and a traditional mime-plot.

sed iacet in serui complexibus aut equitis. dic, 279
 dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem. 280
 haeremus. dic ipsa. 'olim conuenerat' inquit 281
 'ut faceres tu quod uelles, nec non ego possem 282
 indulgere mihi, clames licet et mare caelo 283
 confundas, homo sum,' nihil est audacius illis 284
 deprensus: iram atque animos a crimine sumunt. 285

The section on adulterers taken flagrante delicto is securely linked to the preceding by the theme of adultery; the preceding section ended with the pointed zelotypae moechae; this section opens on a scene of adultery.

279 ... equitis sets the scene. The satirist then turns to Quintilianus, the type of the skilled rhetorician, (see note on 75), and asks him to find a color that will excuse the wife's behaviour. (For color see below). But Quintilian is at a loss; even he is not skilled enough at rhetoric to find a plausible excuse for such flagrant misdemeanour. The satirist then turns to the wife herself, and says, 'dic ipsa'. The satirist uses apostrophe to give life to the short dramatic exchange. He addresses Quintilian and the wife in turn, turning to the other when the one remains dumbfounded; and so the shamelessness of the resourceful wife is brought out by the helplessness of the dumbfounded Quintilian: 'haeremus' is Quintilian's word.

This distribution of lines 279 dic aliquem -281 among the speakers seems to be the most lively and effective; certainly superior to the interpretation of those who would give 279 dic - 280 ... colorem to the wife, making her appeal to Quintilian for a color when she is so skilled at rhetoric herself, or would make dic ipsa part of Quintilian's answer, giving haeremus, dic ipsa to him.

The interpretation I prefer, which indeed goes at least as far

back as Lubinus, gives us a lively three-sided dialogue between Quintilian, satirist, and wife, and both challenges, i.e. both sentences starting with dic, come from the same interlocutor, the satirist. This interpretation is best brought out by the following punctuation:

sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. "dic,
dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem."
"haeremus". "dic ipsa." "olim convenerat", inquit
"ut faceres ...

The wife then uses a color to excuse her crime. The color was a device commonly used in rhetorical declamations, whereby the pleader imagines and invents circumstances in which a specified act may appear, according to the point of view the speaker is defending, excusable or culpable. Since, in the controversia, the action to be attacked or defended was described in bare outline, the speaker had almost unlimited scope to fill in details from his imagination. Such colores are best illustrated by examples from Seneca's Controversiae:

Cont. 1.3: "Incesti damnata antequam deiceretur de Saxo, invocavit Vestam. Delecta vixit. Repetitur ad poenam."

Aetius Pastor used the following color against the Vestal:

"sic veneficiis corpus induruit, ut saxa reverberet inultum".

and Junius Otho:

"fortasse ... poenae se praeparavit, et, ex quo peccare coepit, cadere condidicit".

Cont. 1.6: "Captus a piratis scripsit patri de redemptione. non redimebatur. Archipiratae filia iurare eum coegit ut duceret se uxorem si dimissus esset; iuravit. Relicto patre, secuta est adolescentem. Rediit ad patrem, duxit illam. Orba incidit; pater imperat, ut archipiratae

filiam dimittat, et orbam ducat. Nolentem abdicat".

Romanus Hispo used this color against the daughter: " ... dixit illam non amore adolescentis, sed odio patris sui secutam ..."

and Buteo for the daughter: "voluit ... videri non invito patre, sed secreto suadente, palam dissimulante totum hoc gestum; a patre honestam illam condicionem nuptiarum inventam, cum alio nullo modo posset; neque enim aliter effugere illos potuisse nisi patiente patre".

Cont. 1.7: "quidam alterum fratrem tyrannum occidit, alterum in adulterio deprehensum deprecante patre interfecit. A piratis captus, scripsit patri de redemptione; pater piratis epistulam scripsit: si praecidissent manus, duplam pecuniam se daturum. Piratae illum dimiserunt. Patrem egentem non alit".

Cestius's color for the father was: "Non habebam ... unde redimerem. Quem rogarem pecuniam in tam avara civitate, in qua ne filii quidem patres alunt? Usus sum consilio: sciebam piratas non crudeles esse sed avaros; volui efficere ut et desperarent posse illum redimi et propter hoc supervacuum et molestum futurum dimitterent. An prudenter cogitaverim, nescio; interim feliciter cogitavi: post epistulas illas quas accusat, dimissus est."

and Gargonius: "putavit se vafrum colorem excogitasse pro patre: ego, inquit, dictavi: 'duplam dabo si manus non praecideritis'; librario una syllaba excidit 'non', et scripsit: 'si praecideritis'".

Such colores have their place in the imaginary circumstances of

controversiae. But in the actual circumstances of life they cannot be used. In a controversia, the speaker on behalf of the wife could appeal to an imaginary agreement in the past, as the wife does here. In actual life, truth would stand in the way. It is on this that the humour depends. The wife, actually taken in adultery tries to get out of her predicament by appealing impudently to imaginary agreements in the past, with as little regard for the truth as the practitioner of controversiae. The humour is in the transference of real life to the imaginary world of controversiae.

Inside the color two points of interest:

- (1) The ambivalence of indulgere mihi; which (a) is equivalent to facere quod vellem, containing at the same time, in the immediate context, the sexual overtones which indulgere has in 2.162-4, and are implied in 9.48.
- (2) The atypical use of homo sum.

An appeal is often made to the frailty of human nature to excuse a fault. Herodas, Zelotypos, 26-7:

Βίτιννα, ἄφες μοι τὴν ἁμαρτίην ταύτην
ἄνθρωπος εἰμι, ἥμαρτον.

Petronius, 75:

Post hoc fulmen Habinnas rogare coepit ut iam desineret
irasci, et "Nemo, inquit, nostrum non peccat. Homines
sumus, non dei".

Petronius, 130:

Fateor me, domina, saepe peccasse; nam et homo sum et
adhuc iuvenis.

Men. fr. 432 (Koerte):

ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἥμαρτον. οὐ θαυμαστότεον

Men. Epit. 491-3:

ἄνθρωπος ὢν
ὥ τρισκακόδαυρον μέγαρα φροῦς καὶ λαλεῖς;
δικοῦσιον γυναικὸς ἀτύχηρ' οὐ φέρεις;

The wife here uses the traditional words of a person who has sinned, but she uses them not in humility but in defiance, meaning, "I am a man, therefore your equal". With this twisting of the sinner's usual plea for pardon into an expression of defiance, Juvenal ends the color.

To sum up: the humour of the section on the wife taken in adultery depends on (a), her impudence in using a color; (b), on the words used within the color, which further exemplify the wife's impudence.

284 nihil est ... -285 sums up the whole section and comments on it. The section reached its climax with the color; nihil ... sumunt is a tame recapitulation, with no pungency. It repeats exactly what has just been acted out: the wife caught in adultery angrily, impudently, and defiantly defending her sin. This repetition does not make a rhetorically effective conclusion to the section. (But see below, p 221)

This passage on the shamelessness of women caught in adultery seems to owe its inspiration to two passages of Ovid:

A. 3.14.43-50:

si tamen in media deprensa tenebere culpa
et fuerint oculis probra videnda meis,
quae bene visa mihi fuerint, bene visa negato:
concedent verbis lumina nostra tuis.
prona tibi vinci cupientem vincere palma est,
sit modo 'non feci' dicere lingua memor:
cum tibi contingat verbis superare duobus,
etsi non causa, iudice vince tuo.

A.A. 2.555-89:

sed melius nescisse fuit: sine furta tegantur,
ne fugiat fasso victus ab ore pudor.

quo magis, o iuvenes, deprendere parcite vestras;
 peccent, peccantes verba dedisse putent.
 crescit amor prensis; ubi par fortuna duorum est,
 in causa damni perstat uterque sui.

.....

hoc tibi perfecto, Vulcane, quod ante tegebant
 liberius faciunt, et pudor omnis abest.

Again, the subject-matter, in essentials the same, is stood on its head by Juvenal. Ovid points to the shamelessness of the deprensis, and advises the lover consequently to avoid making his mistress blatantly shameless by catching her in the act when she is being unfaithful to him, (A.A.), and to the mistress to deny shamelessly even what is patent so as to keep her lover's affection. Ovid's good advice Juvenal humorously transforms into serious moral censure.

unde haec monstra tamen uel quo de fonte requiris?	286
praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas	287
quondam, nec uitiis contingi parua sinebant	288
tecta labor somnique breues et uellere Tusco	289
uexatae duraeque manus ac proximus urbi	290
Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti.	291

Line 286 is the link between the description of the monstra and the description of the conditions under which chastity flourished in former times. Monstra here seems to refer to what has just preceded, the impudence of women when actually taken in adultery. This is what the satirist has been talking about, and this is what we are to imagine as having prompted an imaginary interlocutor to ask unde haec monstra? (But see below, p. 221)

After the transition, the satirist describes the ideal past, the days of Rome's virtue. The passage is similar in tone to the opening lines of this satire (1-24): like it, it gives a frivolous and ironical version of traditional themes, mock-heroic in effect, deflating the idealizers of the past. Juvenal strikes the mock-heroic note immediately. The first line of the description:

praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas

being on the V A B B A pattern, as the opening line of the mock-heroic passage at the opening of the satire was also on the V A B B A pattern

credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam

(see Appendix IA, ex. 445)

All the circumstances which kept the Latin women of old chaste are then enumerated. The enumeration itself of disparate elements gives the impression that the satirist is being flippant and repeating with his tongue in his cheek a number of worn-out clichés taken from the moralists and the idealizers of the past. There is no fervour, no attempt on the satirist's part to make this sermon on the virtues of

Old Rome and Italy convincing. The rattling off of one element after another gives the passage the impression of having been composed à la manière de ... This is playful parody of a popular theme, and when we look at each element in the enumeration on its own, this impression is confirmed.

The first element is small houses, parva tecta. These are a traditional element of Roman Ideal Poverty, the same as the parvas domos of ll. 2-3, the simple one-room atrium with its focus and lares. We saw at 2-3 that this atrium-type house was a symbol of Rome's Golden Days, before vice and luxury appeared. We may add here Horace, Odes. 1.12.41:

hunc et incompertis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cum lares fundus.

to illustrate how common the connection between focus and lares and Ideal Ancient Virtue was. In mentioning parva tecta here as a gratuitous and incidental element Juvenal is overloading his description of the idealized past to give it a whimsical tone: Luxury (see Sall. B.C. 10, Plin. NH. 33.150, Vell. Pat. 2.1.1, Liv. 39.6.7, Polyb. 31.25) was said to have caused Rome's decline. Juvenal makes this general attack specific: Rome's decline is reduced to women's unchastity; freedom from luxury reduced to small habitations; and the small habitations the implied cause of women's chastity. (For the syntactical structure of 287-291, see below). This reduction of broad generalisations to specific details is the satirist's comment: it makes what is solemn sound absurd.

Juvenal does the same to the other elements in the enumeration. The early days of Rome were characterized by hardship and effort.

Labor and labores are favourable characteristics of Rome's virtuous and decent past. Sall. B.C. 10:

Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit,
reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi
ingentes vi subacti, Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab
stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant,
saevire Fortuna atque miscere omnia coepit. Qui
labores pericula dubias atque asperas res facile
toleraverant eis otium, divitiae, optanda alias
oneri miseriaeque fuere.

Juvenal reduces the stature of this concept by applying it to one specific field, that of woman's chastity, implying sarcastically that what kept the Roman women chaste was the pressure of the hard work they had to do. It will become clear later that he is referring to the traditional and virtuous occupation of spinning.

What is the significance of somni breves? As Juvenal is referring to traditional themes of Early Roman morality, it is not satisfactory to leave the somni breves without any reference. Commentators fail to see the significance of these words; too much sleep was one of the evils which assailed Rome after the fall of Carthage and the spread of luxury; Sall. B.C. 13:

Sed libido stupri ganeae ceterique cultus non minor
incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam
in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia
exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupido esset, non
famem ...

Vell. Pat. 2.1.1

quippe remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperi
aemula non gradu sed praecipiti cursu a virtute descitum,

ad vitia transcursum; vetus disciplina deserta, nova
inducta; in somnum a vigiliis, ab armis ad voluptates,
a negotiis in otium conversa civitas.

Juvenal transfers this traditional theme and makes fun of it by applying it specifically to the women of early Rome. The occupation symbolic of a Roman matron's virtue was spinning; spinning will be referred to specifically in what follows, and we know that wool-spinning was carried on into the night, spinning by the light of a lamp late into the night being a common motif in literature:

Plaut. Cas. 167:

ego hic ero, vir si aut quispiam quaeret.
nam ubi domi sola sum, sopor manus calvitur.
iussin colum ferri mihi?

Liv. 1.57.8:

Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent,
pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut
regias nurus quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus
viderant tempus terentes sed nocte sera deditam lanae
inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium inveniunt.

Prop. 1.3.39:

o utinam talis perducas, improbe, noctes
me miseram qualis semper habere iubes!
nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum
rursus et Orpheae carmine, fessa, lyrae ...

Tib. 1.3.85:

haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna
deducat plena stamina longa colu;
at circa gravibus pensis adfixa puella
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.

Ov. Fast. 2.739-43:

ecce nurus regis fusis per colla coronis
 inveniunt posito pervigilare mero.
 inde cito passu petitur Lucretia: nebat,
 ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat.
 lumen ad exiguum famulae data pensa trahebant.

And, moreover, spinners are traditionally early risers; Ov. A. 1.

13. 23-24:

tu (Aurora) cum feminei possint cessare labores
 lanificam revocas ad sua pensa manum.

V. A. 8.407-13:

inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
 curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
 cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
 impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignis
 noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
 exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
 coniugis et possit parvos educere natos ...

Juvenal has taken the traditional short sleep of the idealizers of Early Rome, applied it specifically to the women of that age, by making the words refer to virtuous spinners, traditional early risers. He makes this clear by now proceeding to refer explicitly to spinning.

Spinning was a mark of virtue; Juvenal, typically, emphasizes the unpleasant side of the occupation: what kept the women chaste was their hands made rough and callous by Etruscan wool.

Tuscan has no precise geographical significance. It is rather symbolic of the early rustic virtues of Rome and Italy at the beginning of their history.

In two passages of Sallust, B.J. 41:

Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et Senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat.

Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere ...

Hist. I. fr. 10 (Kritz): Augustine Civ. Dei. 2.18:

Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum. fr. 11 = Gellius, NA. 9.12: Postquam remoto metu Punico simultates exercere vacuum fuit ...

In Vell. Pat. 2.1.1:

Potentiae Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriae posterior aperuit: quippe remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperi aemula non gradu sed praecipiti cursu a virtute descitum ...

Florus, 1.47:

Cuius aetatis superiores centum anni sancti pii et, ut diximus, aurei, sine flagitio, sine scelere, dum sincera adhuc et innoxia pastoriae illius sectae integritas, dumque Poenorum hostium imminens metus disciplinam veterem continebat.

1.31.5:

Cato inexpiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem, et cum de alio consuleretur, pronuntiabat, Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae urbis luxuriari felicitas inciperet.

Appian, Punic Wars, 8.69:

Κάτωρα δὲ ἔξ ἐκείνου Φθόνῳ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχέει
γνώμῃ λέγειν, Καρχηδονά μὴ εἶναι, ἔκπιόντα δὲ
τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἔφασκεν, Καρχηδονά εἶναι

ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε ῥωμαίων ἐκδιδιωμένον
ἦδη.

Plut. Cato Maior, 27:

τοῦναντίον δὲ Πόπλιος Σκηπίων ὁ Νασικκῆς
ἐπικαλούμενος αἰὲ διετέλει λόγων καὶ ἀποφινόμενος.
"Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι." πολλὰ γάρ, ὡς εἴκεν,
ᾠβρει τὸν δῆμον ὅρων ἤδη πληρρελοῦντα, καὶ
δὲ εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνημα τῇ βουλῇ δυσκαθείκτον
ὄντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑπὸ δυνάμει ὅπῃ
ρέψειε ταῖς ὁρμαῖς βίᾳ συνεφελκόμενον, ἐβούλετο
τούτον γοῦν τὸν φόβον ὥσπερ χελιδὸν ἐπικεῖσθαι
σωφρονοτήρα τῇ θρασύτητι τῶν πολλῶν.

Diod. 34. 33.4:

οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλων ἀσθενείας, ^{ἢ ἐκρίναν} δεῖν θεωρεῖσθαι
τὴν τῆς ῥώμης ἰσχύν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φθίνεσθαι τῶν
μεγάλων μείζονα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σωζομένης μὲν
τῆς Καρχηδόνας ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης φόβος ἠνέγκαζεν
ὁμονοεῖν τοὺς ῥωμαίους - -

We find references to the salutary effects on Roman morality of Punic fear. Juvenal gives his own humorous version of this: he reduces the general 'Punic Fear' to one episode of the Punic Wars, when the proximity of Hannibal, who had advanced with his army as far as the Colline Gate, caused widespread panic in Rome, (see Livy.26.10), and says that it was this that kept the Roman women virtuous.

This is a reductio ad absurdum of the concept of metus Punicus as a Moral Force.

Looking back on the description as a whole of the conditions which kept the Romans of old chaste, we find that they are without exception nasty: small houses, hard work, little sleep, hands made hard and rough by spinning, and panic caused by the presence of Hannibal at the gates, and husbands under arms.

We can now attempt to deal with the syntactical structure of nec vitiis contingi parva sinebant tecta. The question is: is parva ... tecta nominative and subject of sinebant with somni, labor, etc., or accusative and object of sinebant? The answer depends on the rhythm of the reading voice, which, in turn, depends on the sense. Parva tecta is, it seems to me, accusative. Accepting this for the moment, our subjectival clause (labor ... mariti) then falls into two parts:

- (i) wool spinning (since labor ... manus is all, as we have seen, about spinning).
- (ii) Metus Punicus.
- (i) divides into three: labor, somnique breves, et vellere Tusco ... manus.
- (ii) divides into two: proximus urbi Hannibal, et stantes Collina turre mariti.

The three elements of (i) are joined together thus:

(a), (b)que, et(c).

The two elements of (ii) thus: (d)et(e).

And (i) and (ii) are joined together by ac.

Taking then the second hypothesis: if parva tecta is also part of the subject, it is the only asyndetic element, and so spoils the neat structure. Once we have grasped the significance of labor and of somni breves, and realized that they form with vellere ... manus

one element, and that proximus ... Hannibal and stantes mariti also form one picture, that of Rome in panic on one particular occasion when Hannibal was near it, it is much more natural to take parva tecta as accusative and object, and so preserve the sentence structure:

/[(a) (b) que et (c)] ac [(d) et (e)].

288-291 is then seen to be a repetition in negative form of 287; humilis fortuna is further explained as wool-spinning and fear of the Carthaginians, and Latinas is replaced by parva tecta, the home being symbolic of the wife. And praestabat castas is replaced by nec vitiis contingi sinebant. This neat equivalence is also spoilt if we take parva tecta to be nominative, and have to understand cas = Latinas before contingi.

nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis	292
luxuria incubuit uictumque ulciscitur orbem.	293
nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis ex quo	294
paupertas Romana perit.	295

From the ideal past to the degenerate present. That all manner of vice resulted from the luxury which followed upon the acquisition of undisputed world-dominion by Rome was a commonplace. 292-3 treats the commonplace with irony; Juvenal makes real before our eyes the concept that luxury followed world-conquest; by sustaining the military metaphor, (for incumbere in a military sense, see TLL. B.2.pp.1074,5), he makes a personified Luxury take up arms and avenge the conquered world; the fierceness of this personified Luxury is emphasised (saevior armis). Juvenal ironically describes the effects of peace in terms of military conquest.

After the conquest of Rome by Luxury, the result of the conquest: all forms of lust, (nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis) which, the satirist says, are brought about by the death of Romana Paupertas. Romana Paupertas is a sarcastic oxymoron. Paupertas is a traditional quality of early Rome, praised by the idealizers of the past:

Sall. B.C. 12.1:

Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria,
imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus,
paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia
duci coepit ...

Livy. Praef. 11:

Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla
unquam respublica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis
exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam serae avaritia
luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantum ac tam diu
paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuit.

Hor. Odes, 1.12.41:

hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cum lare fundus.

And an abstract is often qualified by Romanus to form a grand expression, describing a quality typically Roman and admirable:

Plin. NH. 23.32: Romana gravitas; 15.19: Romana maiestas;
Stat. Silv. 3.5.94: Romanus honos; Lucan, 2.518: Romanus pudor;
9.1060: Romanus pudor; 7.383: Romana virtus; V.A. 8.99: Romana potentia; Ov. Trist. 5.2.35: Romana potentia; Fast. 2.483: Romana potentia; Met. 15.877: Romana potentia.

Juvenal's sarcastic juxtaposition, Paupertas Romana, laughs at the moralists' admiration of good old Roman Poverty. The mock solemnity of the phrase is increased by the epic onomatopoeia, the repetition of p, r, t, in paupertas Romana perit.

hinc fluxit ad istos	295
et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos	296
atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.	297
prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores	298
intulit, et turpi fregerunt saecula luxu	299
diuitiae molles.	300

When Roman poverty perished, the reign of Greek luxury started. Juvenal gives us a list of four Greek place names, renowned for their luxury, wantonness, and vice. The congeries is in two asyndetic sentences, with anaphora of hinc, and after three unadorned names, Sybaris, Rhodos, Miletos, effective by accumulation, Tarentum crowns the enumeration and is given a complete verse and three epithets, coronatum, petulans, madidum, to create the atmosphere of drunken and licentious banqueting. In contrast with all this Greek luxury, Juvenal sets the hills of Rome, symbol of what is genuinely Roman, and consequently virtuous. Cf. 3.71, and the sarcasm of 9.130-1, which implies that as long as Rome exists it will always attract foreign vices, i.e. sexual perverts. Juvenal is making the same point here, that the influx of luxury from Greece brought with it sexual perversions, all the crimina facinorae libidinis of 294: in 298-300 ... molles, the effect of Greek luxury on the sexual habits of the Romans is indicated: the money is obscena, the luxury turpis, and the riches molles: all words with connotations of sexual perversion. Frangere has the same kind of connotation. Cf. 2.111, Pers. 2.18, Q. 1.10.31, Plin. Pan. 33.1:

visum est spectaculum inde non enerve nec fluxum, nec
quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret.

Stat. Sily. 3.4.73-75:

nondum pulchra ducis clementia coeperat ortu
 intactos servare mares; nunc frangere sexum
 atque hominem mutare nefas ...

Q. 5.9.14, Apul.Met. 8.26, Petr.119.25, Q. 1.11.1, Sen.Dial.7.13.4:

qui voluptatem sequitur, videtur enervis, fractus,
 degenerans, perventurus in turpia ...

Tac. Dial. 18.

The presence of all these words implying effeminacy helps to understand why the satirist wrote fluxit, 295. Friedlaender refers to 3.62 where defluxit has its proper sense, the Orontes being imagined as flowing into the Tiber. But why are Sybaris, Rhodes, Miletus, Tarentum, flowing to the seven hills? There is no sustained image here as there is in 3.62. Rather fluere is chosen for its connotations of effeminacy; cf. Vell.Pat. 2.88.2:

C. Maecenas ... otio ac mollitiis
 ultra feminam fluens ...

Q. 1.2.8:

nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne
 convivium obscenis canticis strepit, pudenda dictu
 spectantur. Fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura.
 Discunt haec miseri antequam sciant vitia esse;
 inde soluti ac fluentes ...

Aug. Civ. 7.26, Mart. 5.41.1:

Spadone cum sis evirator fluxo ...

Sen.Ep. 114.20; cf. Plin. Pan. 33.1, quoted above.

So, in addition to the four Greek place names, we have fluxit, obscena, turpi, fregerunt, molles, which carry the implication of effeminacy.

To symbolize the impact of Greek influence, 296 has a spondaic ending, et Miletos. (See Appendix IA, ex. 278)

quid enim uenus ebria curat?	300
inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimina nescit	301
grandia quae mediis iam noctibus ostrea mordet,	302
cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno	303
cum bibitur concha, cum iam uertigine tectum	304
ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis.	305

enim puzzles translators, and they disregard it in their translations, having failed presumably to follow the argument; the sequence of thought is: when Poverty died, the reign of Greek luxury started; with foreign luxury and its drunken banquets (coronatum ... Tarentum) came perversions; for when one is drunk one makes no difference between one's mouth and one's sexual organs. Juvenal stated his belief in 287 that what kept the Latin women chaste was poverty; he has now demonstrated how luxury meant the end of chastity and the beginning of perversion. enim marks the final step in the argument, showing how where there is luxury there must be perversion. It is important that the logical sequence be not obscured. coronatum petulans madidum are meant to emphasize the drunkenness attendant on Greek luxury; and the result of drunkenness is perversion (300, quid enim - 301).

It must be noted that here, as in 45-51, what is in antithesis to chastity is not unchastity in its widest sense, but, more specifically, sexual perversion.

Labriolle et Villeneuve, Ramsay, P. Green do not translate enim at all; Labriolle et Villeneuve and P. Green obscure the sequence even more by making quid enim uenus ebria start a new paragraph in their translations.

From 294 to 300, Juvenal has been considering sexual perversions without specific reference to women. On the contrary, fregerunt,

fluxit, molles, suggested effeminacy, i.e. perversion in males. With venus ebria he has not yet got back to women specifically; for venus is put for coitus by metonymy. Cf. Quintilian 8.6.24:

Nam et Vulcanum pro igne vulgo audimus, et vario
Marte pugnatum eruditus est sermo, et Venerem quam
coitum dixisse magis decet ...

Literally, quid ... curat = "What does drunken Intercourse care?" meaning, "What do drunken people having intercourse care?" This is an example of humorous use of metonymy, here to paint the picture of a drunken Venus. To help conjure up the humorous picture Venus ebria was meant to convey, Venus should be printed with a V.

In 301-2, the attack on perversion is directed against women specifically: the woman who is drunk confuses her mouth and her groin, and so becomes a fellatrix.

quae in 302 = illa quae; it does not have Venus as its antecedent, as it does in Ramsay's translation. ebria Venus = intercourse of drunken people; 301 exemplifies ebria Venus with special reference to women, the starting point of the section, at 287, castas ... Latinas. 301-305 can be paraphrased: a drunken woman will indulge in fellatio. 301 describes fellatio, 302-305 the circumstances in which she will be drunk, a banquet at which much is drunk and eaten and which goes on late into the night. The banquet is described with mock-solemnity to give the impression of debauchery on a large scale. Food and drink are given one para-epic line each:

grandia quae mediis iam noctibus ostrea mordet
cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno

See Appendix IA, example 292, 293.

The emphasis is on drunkenness which is given three lines, 303-305, containing three clauses introduced by cum in anaphora, the

concluding cum clause containing two main verbs in co-ordination, and crowning the description of drunkenness with the humorous picture of the effects of drink on the roof, table, and lights of the banqueting hall.

There is delicacy in the food and drink mentioned in the two 'epic' lines: Oysters were a delicacy; cf. Plin. NH. 32.59:

Et ostrea adversantur isdem, nec potest videri satis
dictum esse de iis, cum palma mensarum diu iam
tribuatur illis.

Hor. S. 2.2.20:

tu pulmentaria quaere
sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.

Ov. Fast. 6.171-4:

prisca dea est aliturque cibus quibus ante solebat
nec petit ascitas luxuriosa dapes.
piscis adhuc illi populo sine fraude natabat,
ostreaque in conchis tuta fuere suis

J. 4.139-42:

nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea; Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu ...

Ostrea are here qualified by grandia which we often find in mock-epic lines (see Appendix IB on grandis) creating a flippancy effect of exaggerated size. Mordet adds to the effect: the final picture is of a woman biting into oysters of huge dimensions.

Putting perfume in wine was a great luxury: cf. Plin. NH.13.25:

at hercules iam quidem etiam in potus addunt,
tantique est amaritudo ut odore prodigo fruatur ex
utraque parte corpus.

M. 14.110; Aelian. V.H. 12.3; Lucian, Nigrinus 31.

This unnatural use of perfume is conveyed by the use of perfusus: one
is usually steeped in perfume; Hor. O. 1.5.1-2:

quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
perfusus liquidis urget odoribus

Hor. Epodes, 13,8-9:

... nunc et Achaemenio
perfundi nardo iuvat ...

Here it is the perfume which is steeped in wine.

cum bibitur concha. Friedlaender explains that the revellers at
this point drink from larger vessels. The size of the vessel does not
seem to be the point. Shell-shaped perfume containers are mentioned
in Hor. O. 2.7.21-3:

oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple; funde capacibus
unguenta de conchis ...

M. 3.82.26:

et Cosmianis ipse fusus ampullis
non erubescit murice aureo nobis
dividere moechae pauperis capillare ...

See also Daremberg, Saglio s.v. concha.

In M.14.110, the drinker of perfumed wine is asked, as the extreme
of luxury, to drink wine out of a flask which contained perfume of the
celebrated perfumer Cosmus. Juvenal's point is the same: not content
with mixing their Falernian with perfume, the drinkers are actually

drinking from the vessels which contained the perfume. This is the interpretation preferred by Duff and Ramsay.

In this section on drunkenness leading to perverted form of intercourse, Juvenal seems to be again inspired by Ovid. Ovid warns women that too much drink may lead to perverted forms of intercourse.

A.A. 3.761-6:

aptius est deceatque magis potare puellas:

cum Veneris puero non male Bacche facis.

hoc quoque qua patiens caput est animusque pedesque

constant, nec quae sunt singula bina vide.

turpe iacens mulier multo madefacta Lyaeo:

digna est concubitus quoslibet illa pati.

The next section is contained in ll. 306-13, of which the first two lines are as follows:

i nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna
Maura, Pudicitiae veterem cum praeterit aram ...

i nunc et dubita is a transition formula here linking one perversion to another, as the satirist passes from fellatio to lesbians.

We are now in a position to look more closely at certain unsatisfactory transitions already hinted at:

- (i) between 241 and 242, where the satirist passes from the disruptive effect of the mother-in-law on the marriage to the litigating women.
- (ii) between 267 and 268, where we pass without transition from the exercise ground to the marriage bed.
- (iii) between 285 and 286, where the transition is not seen to be unsatisfactory until we examine the implications of monstra, and consider its precise meaning here.

My contention is that 268-285 is out of place. If this passage is removed from its present position in the text and printed between

241 and 242, the three unsatisfactory transitions listed above are removed, and a normal sequence restored.

atque alios mores quam quos habet? utile porro 240
 filiolarum turpi vetulae producere turpem. 241
 semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus 268
 in quo nupta iacet; minimum dormitur in illo. 269
 tum gravis illa viro, tunc orba tigride peior, 270
 cum simulat gemitus occulti conscia facti:
 aut odit pueros aut ficta paelice plorat
 uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis
 in statione sua atque expectantibus illam,
 quo iubeat manare modo. tu credis amorem, 275
 tu tibi, tunc, uruca, places fletumque labellis
 exorbes, quae scripta et quot lecture tabellas
 si tibi zelotypae retegantur scrinia moechae!
 sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. dic,
 dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem. 280
 'haeremus.' dic ipsa. 'olim convenerat,' inquit
 'ut faceres tu quod velles, nec non ego possem
 indulgere mihi. clames licet et mare caelo
 confundas, homo sum'. nihil est audacius illis
 deprensus: iram atque animos a crimine sumunt. 285
 nulla fere causa est in qua non femina litem 242
 moverit. accusat Manilia, si rea non est. 243
 componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos, 244
 principium atque locos Celso dictare paratae. 245

endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma
 quis nescit, vel quis non vidit vulnera pali,
 quem cavat adsiduis rudibus scutoque lacessit

atque omnes implet numeros, dignissima prorsus
 Florali matrona tuba; nisi si quid in illo 250
 pectore plus agitat veraeque paratur harenae.
 quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem,
 quae fugit a sexu? vires amat. haec tamen ipsa
 vir nollet fieri; nam quantula nostra voluptas!
 quale decus, rerum si coniugis auctio fiat, 255
 balteus et manicae et cristae crurisque sinistri
 dimidium tegimen! vel si diversa movebit
 proelia, tu felix ocreas vendente puella.
 hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
 delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit. 260
 aspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus
 et quanto galeae curvetur pondere, quanta
 poplitibus sedeat, quam denso fascia libro,
 et ride positis scaphium cum sumitur armis.
 dicite vos, neptes Lepidi caecive Metelli 265
 Gurgitis aut Fabii, quae ludia sumpserit unquam 266
 hos habitus? quando ad palum gemat uxor Asyli? 267
 unde haec monstra tamen vel quo de fonte requiris? 286

There is no formal transition between 241 and 268: there is no need for one, as the satirist is still talking on the same subject; concordia, and the lack of it between husband and wife. In 231-241, the subject is the mother-in-law's effect on the concordia; in 268-78, the disruption of concordia by the wife's histrionics, leading to the theme of adultery in 278, which in turn leads to 279 ff.

The transition from 285 to 242 is effected by the responsion between crimine in 285, and causa and litem in 242. We saw that the

climax of 279-85 was the color, and that 284 nihil est - 285 was only a recapitulation, without rhetorical point. We can see now that it serves a structural purpose; while summarizing 279-84...homo sum, it brings in the word crimine, which helps the transition, since it is then picked up by causa and litem. So the satire passes from the adulterers' bed to the law-court. Note too that the transition from the deprensis to the law-court is inspired in Juvenal by his Ovidian models. The two passages quoted on 285, dealing with the deprensis, both contain legal words: culpa, causa, iudex, in the passage of the Amores; prensis, causa, damni, in the passage of the A.A. Juvenal expands on this suggestion he finds in Ovid by making the adulteress utter a color in her defence, and by emphasizing the forensic skill of the adulteress so as to make it serve as a transition: from women's forensic skill when taken in adultery, the satirist passes to women's forensic skill in general. So, 284 nihil est ... -285 isolate and emphasize the women's skill in forensic matters by means of deprensis, crimine, which are picked up by causa and litem, and so lead into 242-245, the section on women's skill in affairs of the law-court.

In the vulgate, monstra in 286 would refer to the women's impudence in trying to defend their blatant adultery. Monstrum, however, implies perversion of the laws of nature, as can be seen from other occurrences of the word in Juvenal:

- 4.2: Crispinus' unnatural lust which is only aroused by married women or Vestal Virgins.
- 4.115: Catullus' unnatural lust for a woman he had never seen.
- 9.38: A mollis is already a monstrum. What greater monstrum than a mollis avarus?
- 2.143: Marriage of Gracchus and a cornicen.
- 4.45: A turbot of unnatural size.

- 13.64-66: *egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
hoc monstrum puero et miranti sub aratro
piscibus inventis et fetæ comparo mulæ.*
- 15.121: *Anthropophagy.*
- 6.645,647: *Killing one's own children.*
- 2.121-2: *As 2.143.*
- 14.283: *Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.*
- 15.172: *As 15.121.*

While impudence when taken in adultery could with some exaggeration be described as a monstrum, with the proposed transposition, the word has a much more obvious significance: it refers to women practising gladiatorial exercises, a virile activity, and so flouting the natural laws of their sex. We would then have a gradation of unnatural activities indulged in by women:

- (i) Forensic activities, 284-245.
- (ii) Virile athletic exercises, 246-67.
- (iii) Women's sexual perversions:
 - (a) fellatioⁱⁿ 286-305, unde haec monstra? leading from one type of unnatural behaviour to another, fellatio, through the satirist's diagnosis of the cause of decline.
 - (b) female homosexuality, 306ff.

In 2.47-53, Laronia defends women from the same three unnatural vices: 47-9, female sexual perversions; 51-2, forensic activities; 53, athletic exercises. In Martial 7.67, athletic exercises and female homosexuality are connected.

By means of the proposed transposition, the three unnatural activities are kept together, their succession undisturbed by the obtrusive 268-85. Unde haec monstra? is prompted by the unwomanlike and therefore unnatural exercises. Prompted by the question, the

satirist examines the causes of monstra, i.e. unnatural behaviour, and so passes unobtrusively to another monstrum, fellatio, and thence to another, female homosexuality.

The appeal to the great names of the Early Roman past leads naturally into the mock-idealization of that same past in 286 and following. Moreover, I pointed out at l.246 that the theme of Greek Luxury, distinctly set out in 246, did not seem to be picked up. With the proposed transposition it is. This Greek Luxury which is hinted at at 246 as the cause of the monstrous behaviour of women is explicitly named as that cause in 296-7 where Sybaris, Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum are found in responsion to Tyre, and the spondaic et Miletos harks back to the spondaic femineum ceroma.

i nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna	306
Maura, Pudicitiae ueterem cum praeterit aram,	308
Tullia quid dicat, notae collactea Maurae.	307
noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic	309
effigiemque daae longis siphonibus implent	310
inque uices equitant ac Luna teste mouentur,	311
inde domos abeunt: tu calcas luce reuersa	312
coniugis urinam magnos uisurus amicos.	313

i nunc et dubita makes the transition. Its implication is: when there is fellatio, can you doubt that there are also forms of perversion like lesbianism.

306-8 is the introduction; two Lesbians, (discussion of the text follows), riding past the temple of Pudicitia decide to defile it: one of them grins in derision as the idea occurs to her; (for sanna, see Persius, 1.62, 5.91), she communicates the idea to her collactea. In 309-11, they put their plan into action:

The syntactical structure of 309-11 is complex at first sight, but the articulations appear clearly on close inspection: the first division is marked by the two hic-clauses: (i) noctibus hic ... lecticas, (ii) micturiunt hic ... mouentur. This articulation is clearly marked by the repetition of hic and the asyndeton.

The first hic-clause is simple; the second complex, made up of three elements joined by -que: (a) micturiunt hic, (b) effigiemque ... implent, (c) inque vices ... mouentur. (a) and (b) are simple, containing one verb each; (c) contains two co-ordinate verbs joined by ac: inque vices equitant ac ... mouentur.

This is P. Green's translation of 309-13, and it gives the traditional interpretation of the passage:

Here, at night, they stagger out of their litters
And relieve themselves, pissing in long hard bursts
All over the goddess's statue. Then, while the Moon
Looks down on their motions, they take turns
to ride each other,
And finally go home. So you, next morning,
On your way to some great house, will splash through
your wife's piddle.

In this interpretation, it is unsatisfactory (a), that siphonibus should mean bursts. A siphon is a hollow tube through which liquid passes. It is not the liquid itself. Longis siphonibus implent does not mean what editors would have it mean: 'fill the goddess with long bursts, or jets': (b), that urine should be so prominent in a passage which we expect to be about sexual perversion, hemmed in as it is by fellatio on one side, and the orgies of the Bona Dea on the other. We expect the main point of the section to be about homosexuality; instead we find micturiunt, longis siphonibus and, in the conclusion, calcas ... urinam: (c), that the satirist should start in 309 with urine, stay on the subject in 310, pass on to obviously sexual activities in 311, and then conclude with urine again in 313, thus setting the sense of 309-311 at variance with its structure as analysed above: we expect the second hic-clause, balancing as it does the first hic-clause which is about one action, also to be about one action, or a series of acts which form one picture. Instead, parts (a) and (b) are about urine, while part (c) is about sexual perversion.

The words which seem to refer to urinary activities in 309-313, micturiunt, longis siphonibus implent, coniugis urinam, refer in fact to the women's sexual activities; in the case of males, we commonly find that the vocabulary which belongs strictly to urinary activities

is applied to sex; whether this transfusion of terms is conscious on the part of the writer or a feature of the language is not clear; but as far as male sexual activities are concerned, it is understandable that mingere, etc. should be used in a sexual sense. Cf. Cat. 67.29:

egregium narras mira pietate parentem
qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium.

Hor. S. 2.7.51-2:

sollicitum ne
ditior aut formae melioris meiliat eodem.

Pers. 6.71-2:

quum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena
patriciae immeiat volvae.

We find the different but cognate confusion of volva/vesica in Juvenal 1.38-39:

in caelum quos evehit optima summi
nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae.

Cf. Plaut. Cas. 455 for a variation on this:

ecfodere hercle hic volt credo vesicam vilico.

Probably as a result of this confusion of terms and of unclear notions about the physiological facts of women's sexual activities, Juvenal seems to have believed that at the moment of orgasm there took place in women an ejaculation of fluid, equivalent to the ejaculation of semen in men, and he accordingly refers to this ejaculation of fluid in urinary terms, as was common in references to the ejaculation of semen, as exemplified above:

In 6.63-4, Tuccia, watching Bathyllus' dance, becomes sexually excited to the point of orgasm. Juvenal's way of expressing this is to say that she cannot control her bladder, vesica. Cf. 1.38-9, quoted above.

In 11.168-70 (where, whatever the confusion of the textual tradition, it is clear that Juvenal is talking about women), the lascivious dances excite the women to orgasm, and this is expressed by:

magis ille extenditur et mox
auribus atque oculis concepta urina movetur.

So here too, in an obviously sexual context, micturiunt and urina indicate not urinary but sexual activities.

What may seem the greatest difficulty in this interpretation of 309-13 is that it presumes on the satirist's part mistaken notions of female sexual physiology. The error is, however, one into which men could easily fall unless they had the interest and the means to acquire exact knowledge in this indelicate field. Do we not find in Lubinus' commentary traces of the same error?:

Micturiunt: Prurigne libidinis correptae. Tu calcas:
Tu, o marite, cum mane surgis ... coniugis tuae urinam,
quam ibi sparsit, pedibus inter ambulandum conculcas,
quam praeterita nocte libidinem exercens ibi reddidit.
Alii sic. Tu mane antequam surgas magnos amicos
salutaturus prius cum uxore tua concumbis, sed urinam
eius tantum calcas, cum sperma evacuarit.

What of effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent? I think that the two tribades are outraging Pudicitia by mimicking perverted sexual intercourse with her statue. Siphon, as stated above, means not the jet of liquid, but the tube through which the liquid comes. Here it refers to the tube-like object through which passes the fluid which Juvenal imagines is ejaculated by the women in orgasm, and which he calls urina. By siphon, Juvenal means the olisbos, the artificial phallus used by Lesbians in sexual intercourse. For the use of the olisbos, see Suida. s.v. olisbos; Lucian. Am. 28; Dial. meret. 55.

This interpretation of siphon gives support to and gains support from Eur. Cyclops, 437, where it is used to mean the male member, and we can imagine the actor in the play accompanying his lines by some comic business with the phallus he would be wearing. (See Duchemin ad loc; see also Diggle, PCPS, 195 (1969) 30). As the satyr in the play refers to his phallus as siphon, so Juvenal refers to the phallus of the tribades by the same word.

To conform with this interpretation of 310 according to which the tribades are having relations not with each other but with the statue of Pudicitia, I would translate in vices in 311 not as 'reciprocally', as it is usually translated, but 'in turns'.

Micturio is a desiderative form. It has been generally assumed that it does not have its desiderative force here, see Friedlaender ad loc. There is no reason why the desiderative force should not be felt here. It is in fact preferable that it should be. For the second hic-clause then has unity, and describes three stages of the same action: (a), sexual excitement, (b), penetration, (c), lascivious motions during intercourse. The final stage, orgasm, is not mentioned in the consecutive narrative of events, but is kept back to be glanced at more obliquely, and thereby more humorously, in the last line of the passage, in urina, the result of orgasm (as supposed by the satirist).

The section (306-13) as a whole gains coherence. It is all about a homosexual assault by the tribades on the statue of Pudicitia. In the introduction (306-8), the scene is set: two lesbians are seen approaching the temple of Pudicitia; one of them is struck with an idea, and she grins in derision as she communicates it to her fellow-lesbian. The idea is to make sport of Pudicitia herself by having perverted intercourse with her through her statue. (This will only become clear later).

The introduction is followed by the narrative in three lines, (309-11), - for the structure of which, see above - which ends in an ascending tricolon, the last colon of which paints the humorous picture of the moon looking down on the perverted sexual activities of the lesbians.

After the main narrative, two lines to conclude: inde in 312 picks up the two hic in 309. The women go home; and the satirist concludes with the whimsical and mock-solemn picture of the husband on his way to his noble patron's levée, walking through his wife's urina. The solemnity of magnum visurus amicos clashes with the sordidness of what precedes to create an ironical effect.

The text of 306-8.

The latest discussion of the text of 306-8 is by Christian Gnilka in Rivista di Filologia 96 (1968) 47-54. Gnilka would keep the traditional order of the lines -

i nunc et dubita qua sorbeat aera sanna
Tullia, quid dicat notae collactea Maurae
Maura, Pudicitiae veterem cum praeterit aram.

Gnilka would have the first Maura in 307 be the name of a well-known fellatrix and frictrix, the second Maura in 308 be a type-name, = a frictrix, = Tullia, just as Verres in 3.53 = a dishonest man, and Virronibus in 5.49 = people like Virro.

The parallels are not exact in that Gnilka would have Juvenal refer by a type-name to a person who has already been named by her proper name. When we have been told that Tullia is the collactea, (for which see below), of the notorious Maura, we know what to think of her morals, and to tell us that she is a Maura herself would fall flat. I find unconvincing Gnilka's attempts to make this effective.

Any attempt at solving the textual difficulty must take into account

(a), that collactea here means fellow-frictrix, i.e. partner in homosexuality. It is the equivalent of amica, M. 7.70; ὁμότεχνος, Lucian, Dial. Meret. 5.2; ἑταίριος τρις. The dialogue of Lucian is particularly interesting in that it shows a situation in which two tribades have a stable relationship, in which one is the active and the other the passive partner; and yet both act as active homosexuals with a heterosexual female. We have the same situation here, with the statue of Pudicitia replacing the heterosexual courtesan of Lucian.

(b), that we do not accordingly have three women on the scene, Tullia and two Mauras, with collactea in its literal sense. (Cf. Duff).

Madvig's transposition of 308 and 307, supported by MS evidence, and followed by Clausen, is still the best solution of the textual difficulty. However, the repetition of Maura is awkward, especially since we are first given her bare name, as if it was expected to be significant, and only told on her second appearance that the Maura in question is the famous Maura.

The corruption may be deeper than is suspected.

nota bonae secreta deae, cum tibia lumbos	314
incitat et cornu pariter uinoque feruntur	315
attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi	316
maenades.	317

The link between this section and the preceding is the theme, common to both, of obscene activities in which women exclusively take part: Lesbian activities in the preceding, here the rites of the Bona Dea from which men were excluded.

The idea of obscenity is introduced immediately by the pun in secreta, (see on 189-91), which here contains the same double-entente as in 10.113, sexual activities/secrets. The pun is here emphasized by the opposition nota/secreta: the activities at the celebration of the cult of Bona Dea are secret, secreta, but the secreta, obscene activities, are notorious, nota. The notorious obscene activities are a known secret.

The secreta are then described in a cum-clause in two parts, cum ... incitat; et cornu ... maenades. The first part is simple, containing one main verb, incitat, the second complex, containing three main verbs, and the three co-ordinate clauses are joined by -que: cornu ... feruntur, crinemque rotant, ululantque ... maenades.

The first part of the cum-clause describes the music and its effect, to make the women move in the dance and stimulate them sexually, lumbos incitat containing suggestions of both the motions of the dance and sexual excitement.

The second part of the cum-clause is a description of the orgiastic dance, in three parts; the first describing the women being carried on by the music and the wine, the second the tossing and twisting of the head, and the third the bacchic cries.

The sting of these three lines is in the epigrammatic ending,

Priapi maenades. This lapidary description of the women is the more effective for having been kept back by the satirist: the reader is kept in suspense as he waits for the subject of the second part of the cum-clause; three main verbs go past without a hint of the subject; and the subject comes at the very end, long-awaited, striking, Priapi maenades.

Priapi maenades contains in epigrammatic form the whole section. The obscenity, (i.e. the Priapi part of the epigram), is in the main clause, nota ... deae, and the first part of the cum-clause; the bacchic orgiastic dance is hinted at in the first part of the cum-clause, and described in detail in the second part. And these two elements, the Priapic and the Bacchic, are brought together in concentrated form in the final epigram, Priapi maenades. And maenades is the more striking for being in enjambement.

o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor	317
concubitus, quae uox saltante libidine, quantus	318
ille meri ueteris per crura madentia torrens!	319

We have in 317-9 a series of three exclamations prompted by what has been narrated in 314-7 ... maenades.

The first, o quantus ... concubitus, picks up the thought of Priapi maenades. The second the idea of lascivious orgiastic dancing; saltante libidine is doubly suggestive: it suggests the dance of the women themselves, and at the same time the springing of their lust within them. As the women themselves are dancing, saltante libidine suggests that the women are by now personifications of libido.

The third exclamation is about the amount of drinking, picking up vino ... attonitae. Wine did figure prominently in the rites of Bona Dea. (See PW, and Daremberg, Saglio s.v. Bona Dea.)

Juvenal ends with a pun. The wine is a torrent which washes the women's legs (madentia). But as the torrent is of wine, it makes their legs drunk (madentia). Madeo here means drunk, a common meaning of the word, see TLL, I2, especially the sub-section de partibus corporis humani, where this passage of Juvenal is quoted.

Juvenal is thinking of the drunken dancing of the maenads; their legs are madentia, i.e. dance with the frenzy of wine. The punning is brought about by torrens, which points to the idea of wetness, but we are to think of the torrent of wine as an internal one, making the legs wet/drunken on the inside.

It is necessary to make this clear, for although it might appear self-evident, (and TLL, as we saw, translates madentia properly), editors have imagined the torrent of wine on the outside of the legs and, in trying to explain what the wine was doing washing down the legs of the women, have imported into this passage unnecessary obscenities.

Lubinus wrote in 1603:

Quantus ille meri veteris. Quam abunde ob libidinis
impatientiam a mulieribus vino veteri potis &
libidine instigatis inter saltandum urina emittitur.
Per crura madentia. Per quae urina defluit.

and Ruperti in 1801 is still repeating this:

Quantum meri veteris ... ad pedes defluit matronis
lascivis se commingentibus.

Friedlaender does not comment on madentia. Translations
seem to imply a torrent on the outside of the legs.

Labriolle et Villeneuve:

"Quel torrent de vieux vin le long de leurs jambes
toutes trempées".

Ramsay: "how drenched their limbs in torrents of old wine".

Knoche: " wie reichlich
Strömt ein Giessbach von altästem Wein die Beine
hinunter".

And P. Green evidently sees some erotic significance in meri veteris ...
torrens:

"see that copious flow, the pure and vintage wine
of passion, that splashes their thighs".

lenonum ancillas posita Saufeia corona	320
prouocat et tollit pendentis praemia coxae,	321
ipsa Medullinae fluctum crisantis adorat:	322
palma inter dominas, uirtus natalibus aequa.	323

Juvenal now imagines the participants in the cult of Bona Dea taking part in a dancing contest to see which one of them can move her hips more lasciviously.

It must be said in passing that this has nothing to do with the tribades, who are forgotten after 314. Lubinus and Ruperti think that they are still the subject of 320-3.

There is disagreement amongst editors and translators about the meaning of posita corona. It can mean either 'putting off her crown', so P. Green, U. Knoche, or 'with a crown set as prize', so Friedlaender, Labriolle et Villeneuve. Taken in isolation, posita corona can have either meaning, but in the present context of a competition the second is by far the preferable interpretation.

The contest is in two parts, covering three verses: first, Saufeia challenges the maids of the lenones, and beats them (320-1). Then, in the second bout, she has to give in to Medullina.

The last line is the biting and ironical sententia, based directly on the three preceding lines; Clausen's punctuation of the line is right, and est understood in both parts: palma inter dominas est, virtus est natalibus aequa.

Palma inter dominas: the final prize is contested by the dominae, the ancillae having been eliminated in the first round.

Virtus natalibus aequa: at the end of the contest, the final order is:

1. Medullina
2. Saufeia
3. Ancillae.

The ancillae are the lowest born, and so come last.

Saufeia comes second. Three members of the gens Saufeia appear as holding office in Broughton, Magistrates: one as tr.pl. in 91, C. Saufei^{us} as quaestor for 99, and one as monetalis, circ. 145-38 B.C. And nearer our time, the Saufei^{us} put to death for complicity with Messalina is named by Tacitus (A. 11.35) amongst the inlustres equites Romani.

Medullina wins. Livia Medullina, betrothed to Claudius (Suet. Claud. 26), was of the same family as the dictator Camillus, and Medullinus was a common cognomen of the patrician gens Furia. (See Broughton, Magistrates, vol. 2, pp. 569-70).

So palma inter dominas, virtus natalibus aequa, is an exact expression in epigrammatic form of what has been described in 320-2. The ancillae are eliminated, and the final contest is between the dominae. Of the dominae, the noble and patrician Medullina comes first, the non-noble Saufeia second; Medullina, Saufeia, ancillae, the gradation in nobility corresponds to the result of the contest: virtus natalibus aequa.

nil ibi per ludum simulabitur, omnia fient	324
ad uerum, quibus incendi iam frigidus aeuo	325
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit.	326

In 320-3, the ladies are competing for a corona, a palma. This is a contest, a certamen, as at the Olympic Games or like the certamen Capitolinum, (cf. 387, and Suet. Dom. 4; 13), and such certamina were also called ludi. Plautus refers to the Olympic games as ludi in Stich. 306, Cas. 760. When the women have just been taking part in such ludi, we are startled to hear in 324 that they are imitating nothing per ludum. We are meant to be startled, and to become aware of the pun on ludus = (a) competition, certamen, in 320-3, (implicitly), (b), play, jest, as opposed to verum. The women may be taking part in ludi, competitions, but what they are doing is not in play, per ludum, but earnest, ad verum. Ludus in 324, by being put in opposition to verum, acquires a meaning different from that prepared and implied by 320-3.

We can see a similar method used by Juvenal in 14.262-4, where he prepares the reader for one meaning of ludi, and then, by putting ludi in antithesis to another word, gives ludi a different meaning from the one which the reader expects:

ergo omnia Florae

et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquo:

tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.

Juvenal is arguing that human beings in search of wealth offer a more entertaining spectacle than the traditional shows, (theatra, praetoris pulpita lauti, 256-7). So he urges men to desert the stage-shows; 262-3 refer implicitly to the ludi Floralia, ludi Cerealia, ludi Megalesia. This is sense (a) of ludi.

264 is the concluding epigram, and in it ludi is put in opposition to negotia; negotia = business, and accordingly the meaning that is meant to be suggested by ludi in close proximity to negotia is play, sport, relaxation - this is sense (b) of ludi. 256-7 and 262-3 build up the expectation of one meaning of ludi, meaning (a), whereas in the epigram, by being put close to negotia, ludi assumes meaning (b), and so creates a paradox. The paradox is that business is recreation, work is play. Negotia, instead of being the opposite of ludi (b), is synonymous with ludi (a).

Ramsay seems to have noticed that per ludum contained a reference to what preceded, for he translates "there is no pretence in the game". Per ludum is of course an adverbial locution, and the correct translation is "there will be no imitations in jest here". This, at least, is the literal translation of per ludum, forgetting the pun, which is untranslatable. But Ramsay is obviously translating the first meaning of ludus, when he translates "in the game", referring explicitly to what precedes.

The word-play on ludus makes the transition from the contest in 320-3 to the satisfying of the women's aroused lust, the subject of 324-34.

324-6 is the introduction to this latter section. This introduction itself ends with a humorous mock-epic line. The grand Laomedontiades is an imitation of the epic style. And since Laomedontiades and Nestoris hirnea have the same function and are co-ordinate, and Laomedontiades is a person, Nestoris hirnea is a person too, and the expression an epic circumlocution for Nestor hirneus, (so Ruperti, Friedlaender). However, by using this epic device, Juvenal puts emphasis on hirnea, the obscene is made prominent, and jars with the grandeur of Laomedontiades, and of the epic circumlocution Nestoris hirnea.

tunc prurigo morae inpatiens, tum femina simplex,	327
ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro	328
'iam fas est, admitte viros.' dormitat adulter,	329
illa iubet sumpto iuuenem properare cucullo;	330
si nihil est, seruis incurritur; abstuleris spem	331
seruorum, uenit et conductus aquarius; hic si	332
quaeritur et desunt homines, mora nulla per ipsam	333
quo minus inposito clunem summittat asello.	334

This last section is the culmination of the Bona Dea episode. The celebration of the religious rite is over, (iam fas est, admitte viros), and also therefore the drinking and lascivious dancing. The women's lust is fully excited, and has to be satisfied, by what means soever: the section develops towards the outrageous

quo minus inposito clunem summittat asello.

Tunc ... tum mark a new stage in the proceedings: the end of the religious celebration. Tunc ... tum is explained by iam fas est ...

327-9 ... viros describes the state of mind of the celebrants; it is a tricolon, tunc... tum ... ac ..., in ascending order: the women's lust cannot be delayed; they no longer impose any restraint on their desires, (tum femina simplex), and, in the last colon, they call in the men.

The section then develops towards the pointed ending in a series of four protases+apodoses: dormitat ... cucullo; si ... incurritur; abstuleris ... aquarius; hic si ... asello. To avoid monotony, the satirist uses variatio in the protases: protases 2 and 4 are introduced by the conjunction si. Protases 1 and 3 stand in asyndetic relationship to their respective apodoses. In the si protases, the position of si is varied: it comes first in 2, but second in 4. And in the asyndetic protases, the tense of the verb is varied: a present indicative in 1, a future perfect in 3.

The first three apodoses are simple main clauses: the last, and most important, is complex, containing a subordinate clause introduced by quominus. The fourth protasis+apodosis, which contains the conclusion of the whole section, is given more space: 2 verses+; its protasis is also complex, containing two co-ordinate verbs, si quaeritur et desunt. The elaborate build-up ends with the vivid, detailed, grossly humorous picture of the woman being covered by an ass, contained in one complete and self-contained verse.

toto ... ab antro. What is the antrum?

Friedlaender:

ab antro aus dem innern Raum; falls antrum nicht
hier eine uns unbekannte Bedeutung und Beziehung hat.

Labriolle et Villeneuve:

un cri retentit et se prolonge sous les voutes.

Ramsay:

the cry comes from every corner of the den.

Knoche:

Und das Gewölbe erklingt ringsum vom gemeinsamer Rufe:

Green:

from every side of the grotto.

antrum, I would suggest, is the temple of Bona Dea, and Juvenal refers to it in a manner calculated to make it sound mysterious and disreputable. The temple of Bona Dea was on the Aventine, below the Saxum:

Ovid. Fast. 5.149-54:

est moles nativa loco, res nomina fecit:

appellant Saxum; pars bona montis ea est.

huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri

prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves.

templa patres illic oculos exosa viriles

leniter acclini constituere iugo.

and in a Notitia and a Curiosum, both dated by Jordan to the time of Constantine (Vol. 2, p. 560), we find the temple called aedem Bonae Deae Subsaxanae, and aedem Bonae Deae Subsaxaneae, respectively.

Juvenal, by describing the proceedings as taking place in antro is referring to the fact that the temple was sub Saxo, the goddess Subsaxana.

dormitat adulter ... cucullo. The adulter and the iuvenem are the same person. The adulterer would sleep; she orders him to take up his hood and hurry along. This is the natural interpretation, and there is no indication in the Latin that the iuvenis is a different person from the adulter. The contrast between the adulterer's desire to sleep and the woman's peremptory order that he should get out of bed and come to her is the point of interest. This is the interpretation preferred by Labriolle et Villeneuve, Ruperti, Ramsay, and P. Green, influenced no doubt by the following three protases+apodoses, in which one possible lover is found wanting in the protasis and another considered in the apodosis, would here also make adulter different from iuvenis.

venit et conductus aquarius. A water-carrier is hired and comes. The aquarius (see Ruperti and PW.) is a servant of meretrices and lenones. He carries water for the meretrices to wash, and his name became a synonym for a pander. Pl. Poenulus, 219: (Adelphasium, a meretrix, speaking)

Ex industria ambae nunquam concessamus
Lavari aut fricari aut tergeri aut ornari
Poliri expoliri pingi fingi; et una
Binae singulis quae datae nobis ancillae
Eae nos lavando eluendo operam dederunt.
Aggerundaque aqua sunt viri duo defessi.

Soror, cogita, amabo, item nos perhiberi 240

Quam si salsa muriatica esse autumantur:

Nisi multa aqua usque et diu macerantur

Olent, salsa sunt, tangere ut non velis.

SHA. Commodus, 2.9:

aurigae habitu cursus rexit, gladiatoribus convixit,

aquam gessit, ut lenonum minister, ut probris natum

magis quam ei loco eum crederes ad quem Fortuna provexit.

Apul. Apol. 75:

cubiculum adulteris pervium; neque enim ulli ad

introeundum metus est, nisi qui pretium marito non

attulit. 78. Hisce auditis exacerbatus aquariolus

iste uxoris suae ...

Tert. Apol. 43:

plane confitebar quinquam, si forte, vere de sterilitate

Christianorum conqueri possint. Primi erunt lenones,

perductores, aquarioli, tum sicarii venenarii, magi,

item haruspices, harioli, mathematici.

Festus, 22 M:

Aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudicarum sordidi

adseculae.

If we see this implication of aquarius, we then see the gradation:
adulterer, slave, slave of prostitutes and brothel-keepers, ass.

(See Ruperti).

atque utinam ritus ueteres et publica saltem	335
his intacta malis agerentur sacra; sed omnes	336
nouerunt Mauri atque Indi quae psalteria penem	337
maiolem quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones	338
illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus,	339
intulerit, ubi uelari pictura iubetur	340
quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figuras.	341
et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis, aut quis	342
simpuuium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum	343
et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas	344
ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?	345

Section 335-45 has two movements: 1. 335-41. The satirist expresses the wish that though the May Festival of the Bona Dea is the scene of such orgies as are described in 314-34, the December festival, at least, which was held pro populo, in the house of a magistrate cum imperio, and in which the Vestal Virgins participated, should be free from such desecration. For the two festivals of Bona Dea, see Bömer ad Ov. Fast. 5.148, W.Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals of the Republic, 102-6, Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 177-8.

335 is naturally interpreted as introducing a new event rather than as a reference to what precedes: the celebrations of the festival of Bona Dea is the scene of terrible orgies, 314-34: would that at least the public festivals of the goddess were free from such orgies. The scene of 314-34 is the temple of the goddess on the Aventine, (see the note on toto ... antro). The scene of the celebration pro populo, profaned by Clodius, is the house of a magistrate cum imperio.

335-6 sacra, expresses the wish: 336 sed omnes ... - 341 describes the notorious Bona Dea incident. The description is in a mock-heroic tone: omnes noverunt Mauri atque Indi is a reference to the motif of the two Aethiopias in Far East and Far West first mentioned by Homer,

and imitated by Roman writers, especially epic poets, and referred to humorously by Juvenal. (See Appendix 2, CQ. 20 (1970) 347). Juvenal uses allusive language throughout, referring by means of epic circumlocutions in mock-heroic style to well-known events: Clodius is quae psaltria, the place of celebration is illuc ... unde; illuc ... ubi. For the mock-grand tone of the lengthening of intulerit, see Appendix IC. And as expected, subject-matter contrasts humorously with style: what the Epic Mauri et Indi know is the scandalous affair of Clodius and Caesar's wife. The first grand circumlocution describes Clodius as a dancing-girl with a large male member, the size of the member being emphasized by the striking comparison with the two Anticatones. There is a more recondite joke in Anticatones pointed out by Grangaeus, as reported by Ruperti:

Facete significat mentulam Clodii duplo maiorem Caesaris mentula fuisse, et propter tam opulentum peculium Pompeiam, Caesaris uxorem, magis dilexisse Clodium, quam Caesarem. Quare autem Caesaris mentulam Anticatonem vocet, in promptu est. Nam Caesar corrumpit Serviliam, Catonis sororem; unde merito illius penis Anticato. Praeterea Caesar librum adversus librum Ciceronis, cui titulus Cato, composuit Anticatonis nomine. At studiosi antiquitatis sciunt, libros (qui ob id dicti volumina) in orbem plicatos et penis quodammodo seu longitudine seu rotunditate similitudinem prae se tulisse.

Another grand circumlocution describes the place, first by the comic picture of the small mouse, shamefully aware of its diminutive testicle, running away of its own accord from the mysteries. This is, as Ruperti saw, a reduction to an absurd level of the common practice at the festival. Cf. Sen. Ep. 97:

violatis religionibus eius sacrificii quod 'pro populo'
 fieri dicitur, sic summotis extra consaeptum omnibus
 viris ut picturae quoque masculorum animalium contegantur.

Plut. QR. 20:

οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξοικίζουσι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πᾶν ἄρρεν ἐξελαύνουσι τῆς οἰκίας, ὅταν
 τὰ νενομισμένα τῇ θεῷ ποιῶσι.

Caesar 9:

αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξίσταται καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν

And the description ends with a last circumlocution illuc ... ubi velari
... figuras, again referring to the regular practice at the celebration
 of the Bona Dea festival of veiling all pictures and representations
 of males, human and animal. This is what Juvenal means, at first
 glance: "pictures which are portraits of the other sex". But sexus
 also means the sexual organs. (see L & S. s.v. and the note on 253)
 and Juvenal intended the pun, "paintings which represent the sexual
 organs of the opposite sex". His audience is prepared for the punning
 meaning by the preceding testiculi sibi conscius. Having made the
 obscenity explicit in the first adverbial clause, he trusts his audience
 to be alive to the implications of alterius sexus figuras.

With this interpretation, the section is seen to end on an epigram,
 and to derive its interesting conclusion from the pun. If we miss the
 pun in ubi ... figuras, the conclusion is strangely weak after the
 salacious and comic illuc ... mus.

Editors and translators pay no attention to the pun. P. Green
 having failed with his predecessors to appreciate Juvenal, tries to
 improve him by reversing the order of the two adverbial clauses:

where

all images of the other sex must be veiled, where even
 a buckmouse, ball-conscious, beats an embarrassed retreat.

Contributing to the mock-epic form of the section are the two metrical peculiarities: the polysyllabic ending of 338, Anticatones; see Appendix IA, ex. 404 and the lengthening of the last syllable of intulerit, see Appendix IC.

As regards the lengthening of final -at, -et, -it, it would seem that both Horace and Juvenal use this device with a definite stylistic purpose. I examine in the Appendix IC examples of this lengthening in Horace, Satires, collected by Lejay on Sat. 1.4.82, and, in Juvenal, collected by Friedlaender.

In 342-5, by contrasting the wickedness of modern times with the generally good and virtuous atmosphere which prevailed in the time of Clodius, Juvenal brings the satire back to the present day; and he ends the section with the pointed rhetorical question, ad quas non Clodius aras?, suggesting that nowadays there are adulterers in all the temples. For this, compare 9. 22-25:

nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymedem
Pacis et advectae secreta Palatia matris
et Cererem (nam quo non prostat femina templo?)
notior Aufidio moechus celebrare solebas ...

It is not necessary to believe that Juvenal really thought that Romans were more virtuous in Clodius' day than they were in his own day. Profession of such belief allows him to make a rhetorical point, and it must be noticed that his account of the religious respect of people in Clodius' day is flippant and whimsical: Numa was regarded as the founder of Roman religion; but by referring to the cult objects as simpuvium Numae, etc., Juvenal is painting the picture of a man sitting at a table on which is cheap table ware; a drinking vessel, a black, therefore cheap, dish, and plates of local fabrication, of clay from Mt. Vatican. The general impression is that Juvenal is reducing

Numa to the level of an ordinary destitute human being, and that even as he asks "who would have dared to laugh at ...?" he is himself making fun of Numa and the sentimentalists who idealized the past.

audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici,	346
'pone seram, cohibe.' sed quis custodiet ipsos	347
custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor,7	348
iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido,	349
nec melior silicem pedibus quae conterit atrum	350
quam quae longorum uehitur ceruice Syrorum.	351

I accept Clausen's deletion after Maas of 346-8 which are a truncated version of O.30-4.

349-51 looks like a link between the lust of women and their extravagance. The subject of 349-51 is the equal lust of all women, great and small alike. 352-65 picks up the notion that all women great and small are equals in vice, but the emphasis shifts away from lust and is now on ruinous extravagance.

349-51 however does not follow on 345 convincingly. The section 335-45 is about contempt for religion. That is what the pointed ending hits at: there is an adulterer by every altar. There is no obvious connection between this and 349, iamque eadem ... libido. (Pace Courtney, Mnem. 15 (1962) 262-6). I shall argue below that the O fragment and more should be inserted here between 345 and 349.

349-51 is the introduction to 352-65; in 352-65, the theme is that women are irresponsibly extravagant, 349-51 is the link between lust and extravagance, the latter being the idea developed in 352-65. The idea that great and small are equally lustful is introduced by means of two colourful and vivid pictures, of the poor woman's feet scraping the black paving stones of the road, and of the rich woman, riding high, carried on the necks of tall Syrian litter-bearers. The vivid pictures bring out the verbal play: in the description of the poor woman, the striking detail is the black stone of the road; in that of the rich woman, the tall Syrians; and those details give a punning point of reference to minimis and summis respectively.

ut spectet ludos, conducit Ogulnia uestem,	352
conducit comites, sellam, ceruical, amicas,	353
nutricem et flauam cui det mandata puellam.	354
haec tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni	355
leuibus athleticis et uasa nouissima donat.	356

We saw how 349-51 prepares the transition from libido to extravagance. In 349, great and small are equally lustful; in 350-1, both are equally bad, the respect in which they are bad is not specified, and in 352-6, the vice which they share equally is made specific again, and the emphasis is now on extravagance.

Ogulnia is then brought forward as an example of extravagance in women of low status. There are five Ogulnii mentioned in Broughton's Magistrates etc.:

Ogulnius (1) Monetal. ca. 85-3.

Cn. Ogulnius (2) Tr.Pl. 300, Aed.Cur. 296.

M. Ogulnius (3) Leg., Envoy 210, Tr.Mil. 196.

M. Ogulnius Gallus (4) Pr. Urb. 182.

Q. Ogulnius L.f.A.n. Gallus (5) Tr.Pl. 300, Aed.Cur. 296, Leg., Lieut. 292. Leg., Amb. 273, Cos, 269, Dict. 257.

The fortunes of the Ogulnii seem to have declined steadily, and in P.I.R. only one other Ogulnius is found, CIL. 6.12564 being the funerary inscription of one of his slaves. The description in Juvenal fits a woman of little means who uses what money she has to make an impression when she goes to the shows. With Ogulnia a rich woman is contrasted, (haec tamen, 355) who obviously possesses, or rather possessed, considerable inherited wealth. Tamen = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, (see note on 359), and marks the contrast with Ogulnia. All commentaries and translations I consult make Ogulnia and haec the same person, and take

tamen to mark the contrast between Ogulnia's poverty and her extravagance: "Although Ogulnia has to hire ..., yet she gives away all her silver ...". This is wrong. The main point of 352-4 is surely not that Ogulnia is poor, but that she is extravagant; it is her extravagance that is emphasised: she hires seven different things to go to the shows. And it makes no logic to say, "although she is extravagant, yet she will give what is left of her money ...".

Another indication that Ogulnia and haec are different are their different interests; haec is interested in buying the favours of athletes. This is not what Ogulnia is interested in; she would not have the means to buy athletes; all she is interested in is making a show when she goes to the theatre in the hope of attracting the attention of a lover amongst the spectators there. (See 61, and note ad loc.) We are surely to imagine the mandata to be love messages to parties in the theatre who show an interest. The theatre notoriously provided a suitable setting for the start of love affairs. Ogulnia certainly did not parade her hired pomp to impress athletes. Interest in athletes is an interest of the rich dilettante, see note on ceroma, 1.246.

The result of not seeing the contrast between the poor and extravagant Ogulnia and the rich and extravagant haec, = the latter, = quae longorum ... Syrorum is that the smooth transition between 351 and 352 has been unobserved. Friedlaender in his note on 352 even remarks on the lack of continuity between 351 and 352.

Juvenal makes Ogulnia's extravagance vivid by the simple expedient of anaphora+accumulation, by the imbalance between the two clauses in anaphora - the first containing one item, the second six - which thus gives a long second clause emphasizing the exaggerated expenditure. The first six items are simply enumerated, each in one word; the last,

and most important for Ogulnia's purpose; is given more attention by the satirist; the specific flavam indicates the care taken by Ogulnia in choosing the right kind of servant for her main purpose, i.e. to serve as go-between. The satirist specifies flavam to express that Ogulnia chooses her slave with deliberate discrimination to serve her amatory purpose.

In 355-6 the satirist passes to the rich woman who once possessed considerable family property, but has squandered it all on athletes. Juvenal gives the section flavour by a virtuoso play on words: argenti, when it first appears, means money; but when we read on to vasa novissima we are pulled up and made to realize that argenti also included silver plate. Argenti suddenly acquires new meaning and new point: the woman has not only squandered the money she inherited, (argentum), she is now reduced to giving away the family silver (argentum). Again scholars run faster than Juvenal, and spoil his technique: they explain that argenti = silver plate. But when the reader - and Juvenal's audience - first comes to argenti there is no reason why he should think of any meaning other than the obvious one suggested by the context, 'money'. It is only when vasa novissima is reached that argenti is seen to mean more than what it first appeared to mean. The whole interest of the section depends on the audience being startled into realizing the implications of argenti by vasa novissima. To explain argenti as 'silver plate' too soon, as Friedlaender and Duff do, spoils the point of the two lines. For the ambiguity of argentum, cf. Q. 5.14.26.

The verbal fireworks do not end there: vasa novissima also has a double meaning: in response to quodcumque superest, it means 'last, remaining plate', i.e. the woman has given away everything else, and this is the last thing left. But in response to argenti paterni vasa novissima means 'the newest silver plate', i.e. she has given all

the family silver (argentum paternum) away, and now gives away the modern stuff too.

Here we see a familiar trick of Juvenal's: at first sight, vasa ... donat seems to be verbose repetition: in fact every word in argenti ... paterni sets up the double pun in vasa novissima.

Levibus, qualifying athletes, clearly refers to their common practice of anointing their bodies. (So Labriolle et Villeneuve, Friedlaender.) Ruperti erroneously finds a reference here to male homosexuals, and Duff suggests that the woman may be in love with pueri delicati!! Ramsay also refers the word to the absence of facial hair:

"... yet she will give what remains of the family plate, down to the last flagon, to some smooth-faced athlete".

and Peter Green seems to be thinking of the modern colloquial meaning of the word 'smooth':

Yet whatever remains
of the family plate, down to the very last salver,
She'll hand out as a present to some plausible athlete.

multis res angusta domi, sed nulla pudorem	357
paupertatis habet nec se metitur ad illum	358
quem dedit haec posuitque modum. tamen utile quid sit	359
prospiciunt aliquando uiri, frigusque famemque	360
formica tandem quidam expauere magistra:	361
prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.	362
ac uelut exhausta recidiuus pullulet arca	363
nummus et e pleno tollatur semper aceruo,	364
non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constant.	365

The comparison between the extravagance of poor women and that of rich women is over in 356. The transition is imperceptible. From 357 Juvenal is talking about the extravagance of women in general and comparing it with the comparative thriftiness of men. He begins by stating the proposition (357-359 ... modum) that although many women are poor, none has the sense of shame, the restraint, which should go with poverty. Ruperti points out that Juvenal's expression pudor paupertatis is an expression used by Horace, Epistles, 1.18.24. He does not, however, state unambiguously that Juvenal is actually borrowing from Horace; and not merely borrowing but also exercising his wit to transform Horace's expression in a humorous fashion. The context in Horace is similar to that in Juvenal. Both are talking about a person who spends beyond his means.

Hor. Ep. 1.18.21-31:

quem damnosa venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguet,
quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
saepe decem vitiis instructor, odit et horret,
aut si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem

vult et ait prope vera: 'meae (contendere noli)
 stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
 arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum
 certare.'

In Horace pudor paupertatis is a vice, and to have it leads to extravagance. In Juvenal it is a quality, and to have it would help to avoid extravagance. Juvenal indicates that he is inverting the meaning of Horace's expression by a syntactical device: Horace's man is possessed by pudor paupertatis, quem (tenet) paupertatis pudor; Juvenal's women should possess it, nulla pudorem paupertatis habet. In Horace the vice possesses people. In Juvenal people (should) possess the quality. In Horace, pudor paupertatis means 'shame of poverty', paupertatis being an objective genitive. In Juvenal it means 'the sense of moderation which poverty gives', paupertatis being a subjective genitive. In both contexts the dominant idea is that of extravagance. Juvenal's passage is a learned reminiscence and a learned joke.

In addition to not having pudorem paupertatis, the extravagant woman does not measure herself ad illum quem dedit haec posuitque modum. Juvenal is here playing on three senses of modus: First, se metiri ad modum, to measure oneself by, according to, a certain measure. Here modus has sense III of TLL. "i.q. mensura, qua metimur, A. proprie, 1 de spatiis quibus longitudines vel areae mensurantur." Varro. R.R. 1.10.1:

modos, quibus metirentur rura alius alios constituit.
 nam in Hispania ulteriore metiuntur iugis, in Campania
 versibus, apud nos in agro Romano ac Latino iugeris.

Secondly, paupertas dedit modum, poverty gave (the woman) a certain quantity, a measure of property. Modus belongs here to TLL. I,

"notione primaria, i.q. extensio metiendo definita.". Cf. 14.172:

nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.

Thirdly, paupertas posuit modum, poverty imposed a limit. Here modus belongs to TLL. II A 1 a β ①; col. 1259, "specialiter ... modo iusto, saepe fere i.q. finis."

Ponere modum is a common expression in which modus has this last sense. Cf. V.A. 128-9; Hor. O. 1.16. 2-3; Luc. 1. 81-2; Stat.Theb. 2.406; Stat.Theb. 10.333; Tac. A. 11.10.2; Juv. 8. 87-9.

We acknowledge in se metitur ad illum quem dedit haec posuitque modum another of those instances where Juvenal is giving us a display of verbal dexterity, and I have no sympathy with Nisbet's suggestion that 359 should be removed. (JRS. 52 (1962) 238).

With the extravagance of women, Juvenal contrasts the comparative providence of men. The opposition between the two is expressed by tamen, which here, as in 355, = $\delta\epsilon$. This use of tamen = $\delta\epsilon$ is not unparalleled, see Leumann, Hoffmann, Szantyr, Lateinische Grammatik, 2.496, β , der anknüpfende und weiterführende Gebrauch = autem, Nisbet, in the article cited above, and Housman (I) have exaggerated the difficulty of tamen. Duff's note on 359:

tamen, 'after all,' i.e. in spite of extravagance up to a certain point, a man does draw the line somewhere.

is misleading. Labriolle et Villeneuve mistranslate:

On voit tout de même des hommes qui songent à l'utile.

Knoche avoids the difficulty:

Ja, gewiß, was das Nützliche wäre

Sehen mitunter die Männer voraus ...

Ramsay translates correctly:

Men, on the other hand, do sometimes have an eye to utility.

P. Green seems to be on the right lines:

Men on the other hand

Sometimes at least show providence ...

Men, on the other hand, says Juvenal, sometimes show providence, and, in the end, school-mistress Ant makes some terrified of hunger and cold. Juvenal is borrowing from Horace, as commentaries point out, S.1.1.32-8:

sicut

parvola (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri
quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
non usquam prorepat et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens ...

And again Juvenal is transforming Horace's words to produce the comic picture of grown men trembling before the ant-like school children before their teacher. This picture is composed in one line, the last line on men:

formica tandem quidam expavere magistra.

Although it cannot be established beyond doubt that Juvenal wished this line to refer to a schoolroom scene, it seems to suggest something like Martial, 9.68:

quid tibi nobiscum est, ludi scelerate magister,
invisum pueris virginibusque caput?
nondum cristati rupere silentia galli,
murmure iam saevo verberibusque tonas.

Martial. 14.80:

Ferulae

invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris
clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus

J.7.210-2:

metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri;

Women's lack of foresight is then set against the providence of men, in a one-line sententia, in asyndeton. The asyndeton brings out the contrast. The humour of the sententia is in its false pathos and mock-solemnity. It is on the V A B B A scheme used by satirists to parody the solemnity of death, funerals, burial, see Appendix IA, section C.

6.362 describes with mock-solemnity the death of the woman's census, a death by which the woman herself remains unmoved:

prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.

The death of the census is prepared for by the dangers of death by hunger and cold featuring in 360-1. Whereas men learn from ants to fear death by cold and hunger, women do not even realize that their ... census is dying. Censum is a humorous and unexpected ending to the death-solemn line.

After the sententia in 362, Juvenal continues for three lines (363-5) on the same theme. Those three concluding lines contain two images, one of the coins growing anew - pullulet and recidivus being both agricultural terms, see Ruperti ad loc. - and the other of a self-renewing pile of coins, but the last line is flat and does not read like the usual Juvenalian pointed ending to a section.

We then pass on to the O fragment, and notice that there is no link between 365 and O.1. But see below, p. 295.

in quacumque domo uiuit luditque professus	0 1
obsceum, tremula promittit et omnia dextra,	0 2
inuenies omnis turpes similesque cinaedis.	0 3
his uiolare cibos sacraeque adsistere mensae	0 4
permittunt, et uasa iubent frangenda lauari	0 5
cum colocyntha bibit uel cum barbata chelidon.	0 6

Jean Colin has done more than all his predecessors to explain the role of the cinaedus here. He is primarily a dancer; he is entertained in the household by the wife who treats him as a favourite and as her confidant. Colin refers his reader to the following passages:

Lucil. 32 M. ap. Non. 5.6:

Cinaedi dicti sunt apud veteres
saltatores vel pantomimi:
stulte saltatum te inter venisse cinaedos.

Pl. Mil. Glor. 664-8:

Opusne leni? leniorem dices quam mutumst mare,
Liquidusculusque ero quam ventus est favonius.
Vel hilarissimum convivam hinc indidem expromam tibi,
Vel primum parasitum atque obsonatorem optimum.
Tum ad saltandum non cinaedus malacus aequum atque ego.

Macr. Sat. 3.14.7:

Scipio Africanus Aemilianus qui in oratione contra legem iudicariam Tib. Gracchi sic ait: "docentur praestigias inhonestas, cum cinaedulis et sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum, discunt cantare, quae maiores nostri ingenuis probro ducier voluerunt: eunt, inquam, in ludum saltatorium inter cinaedos virgines puerique ingenui ..."

Cic. In Pisonem. 89:

cum sustentare vix posses maerorem tuum doloremque
decessionis, Samothraciam te primum, post inde Thasum
cum tuis teneris saltatoribus ...

Cic. Post red. in sen. 13:

cur in lustris et helluationibus huius calamistrati
saltatoris tam eximia virtus tam diu cessavit?

Petr. 23:

intrat cinaedus, homo omnium insulsissimus et plane illa domo
dignus, qui ut infractis manibus congemuit, eiusmodi carmina
effudit:

huc, huc cito convenite nunc spatilocinaedi,
pede tendite, cursum addite, convolute planta
femoreque facili, clune agili et manu procaces,
molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi ...

Apul. Met. 8. 24-30:

In all those passages we find dancers, all effeminate, called either
cinaedi or saltatores.

Especially interesting to illustrate this passage of Juvenal are
certain passages where such cinaedi appear in the household as the
favourites of the lady of the house. We find one such in Petr. 23
quoted above; see also Sen. de Matrim. ed. Haase, Vol. 3, p. 429:

honoranda nutrix eius et gerula, servus paternus et
alumnus et formosus assecla et procurator calamistratus
et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado, sub
quibus nominibus adulteri delitescunt.

where the procurator calamistratus is a cinaedus of the kind we find
here in Juvenal, a pseudo-cinaedus, an adulterer in disguise. He is
a figure we shall find in Martial below.

Courtney (II) has drawn attention to a text of Lucian, de merc.con. 33, where we find a cinaedus who is in most respects like our cinaedus. Unlike ours, he is a real cinaedus, an effeminate; but like him, he is the wife's favourite, wears eye shadow and a hair net, sings and dances. He is called Chelidonium.

And we find such a person, a cinaedus, formosus assecla, procurator calamistratus, sometimes a dancer, a favourite and confidant of the woman of the house, a hidden adulterer, in epigrams of Martial:

3.63: Cotile, bellus homo es: dicunt hoc, Cotile, multi.
 audio; sed quid sit, dic mihi, bellus homo?
 "Bellus homo est flexos qui digerit ordine crines,
 balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet;
 cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat,
 qui movet in varios bracchia volsa modos;
 inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras
 desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat,
 qui legit hinc illinc missas scribitque tabellas;
 pallia vicini qui refugit cubiti;
 qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit,
 Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos."

12.38: Hunc qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris
 incedit tota notus in urbe nimis,
 crine nitens, niger unguento, perlucidus ostro
 ore tener, latus pectore, crure glaber
 uxori qui saepe tuae comes improbus haeret
 non est quod timeas, Candide: non futuit.

10.40: Semper cum mihi diceretur esse
 secreto mea Polla cum cinaedo
 inrupi, Lupe. Non erat cinaedus.

5.61: Crispulus iste quis est uxori semper adhaeret
 qui, Mariane, tuae? crispulus iste quis est?
 nescioquid dominae teneram qui garrit in aurem
 et sellam cubito dexteriore premit?
 per cuius digitos currit levis anulus omnis.
 crura gerit nullo qui violata pilo?
 nil mihi respondes? "Uxoris res agit", inquis
 "iste meae". sane certus et asper homo est
 procuratorem voltu qui praeferat ipso:
 acrior hoc Chius non erit Aufidius.
 O quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini:
 te successurum credo ego Panniculo.
 res uxoris agit? res ullas crispulus iste?
 res non uxoris, res agit iste tuas?

In the first two epigrams we have a bellus homo, and in the second the bellus homo is then shown to be not a male but a cinaedus. While in the last two, we have a reversal of this situation: the avowed cinaedus, the procurator calamistratus, turns out to be a real man, like the cinaedus of Juvenal.

The cinaedus then, as he appears in the Oxford fragment, is a familiar and well-attested figure in the literature of the period, safe from Knoche's (III) strictures. (Philologus 93 (1938) 196-217).

tremula dextra. Cf. Petr. 23, Sen. Ep. 52.12.

The passage opens with an exposition of the theme, without any apparent link with what precedes, (but see below).

The exposition is done in three lines: the satirist states that in any household where a cinaedus is kept and entertained, you will find all the perverts and effeminate of the town.

I take omnes turpes ... cinaedis to mean not that the one cinaedus makes the whole household like him, but that the presence in the household of one cinaedus is a sign that the mistress of the house delights in such creatures, and that consequently she will invite all the cinaedi of the town, and all perverts she can find to come and be the guests at her table, and her husband's. In Martial, Petronius, and Lucian we found the lady of the house keeping one household cinaedus, like the one in J. 14.30, and the one here. But the wife here is not content with her pet cinaedus; she extends a welcome to all cinaedi and their like. This interpretation is more satisfactory than the usual one according to which invenies omnes turpes similesque cinaedis = invenies omnes esse turpes similesque cinaedis. There is no reason why the presence of one cinaedus in the house should make all the members of the household into turpes and similes cinaedis. Knoche rightly points out the difficulties of the traditional interpretation, and, so far as I know, his objections have not been answered. He however takes the difficulties inherent in the traditional interpretation of the passage to be a proof that the Oxford fragments are spurious. But Juvenal is merely saying in his emphatic manner "where there is one household cinaedus, you will find all cinaedi and their like assembled".

After the three-line scene-setting, three lines on the impuritas oris of the cinaedi and their like. The impurity, hinted at in 4-5, violare cibos, sacrae mensae, vasa frangenda, is manifested in a humorous manner at the end of the period, in the two proper names of the cinaedi, Colocyntha and Chelidon. These are speaking proper names, and should be printed as such. Clausen and Housman print them without initial capitals. The significance of the names was however explained long ago by Housman (III): colocyntha and chelidon, without initial capitals, are the male and female sexual organs, respectively: for

colocyntha, see Hippocr. ed. Foes. p. 263, 16; 581, 37; 680, 43 quoted by Housman; and for chelidon, see Suidas, s.v.; Ar. Lys. 770-6; CIL 4.2498. It is however possible that Todd is right in maintaining against Housman that colocyntha came to be a popular slang term for membrum virile not through its medical use as a pessary but rather because of its phallic shape. In the present context, that is, in connection with impuritas oris, the two words, which are here proper names, refer to the use to which the two perverts put their mouth: Colocyntha is a cunnilingus, i.e. he uses his mouth as a male sexual organ, and Chelidon is a fellator, he uses his mouth as a female sexual organ. Between them, they typify the two types of ore impuri. Naming them in this way at the end of the period is Juvenal's way of revealing their nature economically and humorously.

Housman (III) came nearest to explaining this passage, the only flaw in his interpretation being the fact that he did not interpret colocyntha and chelidon as proper names and so could not explain barbata satisfactorily, as we shall see below. Colin misses the point, as does F.A. Todd.

barbata. A feminine adjective for an effeminate. Chelidon has a beard.

Housman (III) and also (IV), who did not consider Colocyntha and Chelidon to be proper names but as a tacit equation by the satirist of the effeminates' mouths with sexual organs, explains barbatus as referring to pubic hair, and he quotes Priap. 12.14. to support his interpretation. There is no doubt that, in the line he quotes, the beard referred to is the pubic hair. Here too, there is an implicit reference to pubic hair. But if we try to make literal sense of the line, and take chelidon to be = the effeminate's mouth, then barbata chelidon = "the effeminate's bearded mouth", and we therefore end up

with an odd expression. If, on the other hand, we take Chelidon to be a proper name, the difficulty disappears: Chelidon is the proper name of the fellator; and the fellator, who is one of the similes cinaedis, (since a real cinaedus would not have a beard), has a beard. As a parallel, Ravola, who appears in 9. 3-4:

quid tibi cum vultu qualem deprensus habebat

Ravola dum Rhodopes uda terit inguina barba?

might be referred to as a barbata Colocyntha.

purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,	0 7
in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur	0 8
psyllus ab ⁺ eupholio. ⁺ quid quod nec retia turpi	0 9
iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem	0 10
munimenta umeri ⁺ pulsataque arma ⁺ tridentem	0 11
qui nudus pugnare solet? pars ultima ludi	0 12
accipit has animas aliusque in carcere nervos.	0 13
sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor et illis	0 14
cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recuset	0 15
flaua ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri.	0 16

Variations on Clausen's text which I would admit:

9. Psyllus ab Euhoplo

11. pulsatoremque tridentem. (Leo)

Translation:

So the lanista's establishment is purer than your home, for in his troupe Psyllus (the light-armed, i.e. effeminate, gladiator), is kept apart from Euhoplus (the heavy-armed, i.e. sexually well-endowed, gladiator). What is more, the nets are not put side by side with the base tunic, (i.e. the tunica turpis of the effeminate retiarius tunicatus), nor does the retiarius who fights without a tunic (nudus) keep his shoulder-guard and his offensive weapon, the trident, in the same cell (as the retiarius tunicatus). Those beings are kept in the remotest part of the school, and have separate stocks in prison (i.e. the gladiatorial prison). But your wife makes you share a cup with those beings with whom the blonde she-wolf of the crumbling sepulchre would refuse to taste Alban and Surrentine.

Psyllus, Euhoplus: These are the names of two gladiators, type names, typical of their sexual characteristics. Gladiators were often so named, see Colin. Psyllus is the light-armed, the effeminate, $\psi\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ as opposed to $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{o}\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. For $\delta\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha$ = sexual organs, see

LSJ s.v., and for *Psyllus*, cf. the passage of *Charisius* quoted in Clausen:

Barwick. p.141:

deinde Syllam; qui quod flavo et compto capillo fuerit, similes Syllae sunt appellati. inde effeminati hodieque in ludo syllae dicuntur quos vulgo imprudenter psyllos appellant.

This is not an entirely original interpretation. Colin, for example, mentions it, but loses the thread of the passage as a whole, and is therefore tempted to hedge; and at the same time to see in *Psyllus* and *Euhoplus* two different types of gladiator, the light-armed retiarius and the heavy-armed murmillo or thrax. He thereby loses the clear contrast between the husband's house, where effeminates and decent males are made to eat at the same table, and the establishment of the lanista, where effeminates are kept separate.

turpi tunicae. The turpis tunica I take to be a mark of effeminacy in gladiators, accepting Housman's (V) conclusion which he reaches by comparing 2.143ff., 8.199ff., this passage, and a passage of Seneca, N.O. 7.31.3:

cotidie comminiscimur per quae virilitati fiat iniuria, ut traducatur, quia non potest exui: alius genitalia excidit, alius in obscenam partem ludi fugit et locatus ad mortem infame armaturae genus (armatur egenus. MSS.) etiam in quo morbum suum exercent legit.

To these may also be added the passage of *Charisius* quoted above which shows that there was a class of gladiator which was commonly thought to be effeminate. Housman's article is well-argued, and makes sense of the three passages of Juvenal concerned; in the present passage it fits in admirably with the context. Colin follows Owen,

(CR. 19 (1905) 354-7), and makes nonsense of the passage.

pulsatoremque tridentem. I accept this, Leo's emendation.

Colin has shown, by referring to an inscription on the base of a monument found at Tatarevo in Thrace (Colin, p.57), that pulsator is a technical term of the gladiatorial school and designates the retiarius at a particular stage in the fight, when he uses his trident to keep his better-armed adversary at a distance. Colin himself, however, would emend to pulsatorumque tridentem, which is less satisfactory than Leo's emendation. Colin objects to Leo's emendation that "le suffixe -tor sert à former avant tout des noms d'agent vivant". But such personification is in the satirist's manner, and Leo quotes 6.40, captatore macello, to which may be added, 13.195:

occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.

Colin's main reason for preferring pulsatorum is to provide an antecedent to has animas. But Colin is interpreting this whole passage wrongly, missing its main point, that male and effeminate as well as their belongings are kept separate in the gladiatorial school. Has animas refers to the people implied in Psyllus and turpi tunicae, the effeminate gladiators. This may not be strict grammar, but it is easy to understand, if only one has not lost track of the argument. Colin translates 9-12 as follows:

Il y a mieux: de même que les filets ne sont pas mêlés à la tunique infamante (des rétiaires-forçats), de même celui qui combat nu (le gladiateur libre) ne dépose pas dans la même cellule ses brassards et le trident des repousseurs (pulsatorum = des rétiaires).

Colin, following Owen, has imported the irrelevant distinction between 'gladiateurs libres' and 'gladiateurs-forçats' which is not in the text, and which is entirely out of place in this passage where we

are concerned with the separation of male from effeminate. The sequence of thought is as follows:

In O.7-13, the theme is the promiscuity in the wife's household contrasted with the strict separation in the gladiatorial school of male and effeminate.

In 7-9 ... Euhoplo, the theme is stated, and the statement ends, as did O.1-6, with the humour of speaking names, Psyllus and Euhoplus. Then in 9 quid quod ... -12 solet, Juvenal takes the argument one step further, and states that not only are the male and effeminate kept separate, but even their clothes and weapons. The retiarius qui nudus pugnare solet keeps all his belongings entirely separate from those of the retiarius tunicatus, the effeminate. Then, Juvenal takes the argument one step further still to the culmination of the section on the gladiatorial school: 12 pars ultima ... -13, even in the prison of the gladiatorial school, the strict separation is kept up. aliusque in carcere nervos is the point concluding the gladiatorial school episode.

Then in three lines, (14-16), a new contrast, this time with the fastidiousness of the lowest class of prostitutes. The husband is forced to drink in the same cup as the cinaedi and their like; but the lupa wouldn't. The short section ends with a mock-solemn line on the V A B B A pattern; the solemnity properly belonging to the ideas of death, funerals, and burials is here echoed in the pattern of the verse, (see Appendix IA, section C), and clashes with the sordid subject matter, and so produces the effect of mock-solemnity.

horum consiliis nubunt subitaeque recedunt,	0 17
his languentem animum ⁺ servant ⁺ et seria uitae,	0 18
his clunem atque latus discunt uibrare magistris,	0 19
quicquid praeterea scit qui docet. haud tamen illi	0 20
semper habenda fides: oculos fuligine pascit	0 21
distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter.	0 22

Juvenal now passes on to the role of the cinaedus as confidant of the lady of the house. (For this see Martial, 10.40, 5.61; Seneca, de Matrim. quoted p. 262; also Juv. 14.30.) The cinaedus appears here in the same role as the procurator calamistratus, the day-long companion of the wife and her adviser in all things. This role of the cinaedus is described in three sentences in anaphora, with asyndeton, each sentence occupying exactly one verse each.

I am inclined to transpose 18 and 17; we then get the following sequence: "They share (servant being an uncertain reading) with them their souls' sorrows and the serious problems in their lives; on their advice they marry/have intercourse or suddenly ~~get~~ divorced/refuse their husbands intercourse; from their teaching they learn to move their buttocks and hips, scil. in intercourse". The nature of what the wives share with the cinaedi is then seen to change gradually from their personal problems, to advice on marriage and divorce, with the ambivalence indicated in the paraphrase, and then to the blatantly sexual: they teach the women how to play the passive part effectively in intercourse, (see note on 191), a role which they know well as cinaedi. The tricolon is then brought to a close by the generalizing quicquid ... docet, which leads us to the section on the other sexual activity which the women learn from the cinaedi. Rather, the lesson is the same, but the teacher now plays the active part in the lesson: this too is something which is scit qui docet, although the husband and the world might not have suspected it.

The theme of the *dénouement* we have seen in Martial and in Seneca, above, p.262 : the fellow may look like a procurator calamistratus, a cinaedus, but appearances are deceptive; he is a real man. First the cautionary statement, haud ... fides; then the revelation, oculos ... adulter. The last sentence is constructed in such a way that we get first the three elements which point to effeminacy, oculos ... pascit, distinctus croceis, reticulatus, and the key-word both thematically and syntactically (since it is the subject of the sentence and unmask the pseudo-cinaedus) is kept to the very end. This stylistic device is the cause of Knoche's (III) objection:

Es wäre zu verlangen: der Mann, der sich wie ein Mollis schminkt, entpuppt sich mitunter als ein Ehebrecher. Statt dessen heißt es: es schminkt sich der Ehebrecher; und der wegen v. 20f. unentbehrliche Begriff interdum ist überhaupt nicht ausgedrückt.

oculos fuligine pascit. Juvenal's facetious way of saying: enlarges his eyes by using soot as eye-shadow. For the use of eye-shadow by cinaedi see Lucian, de merc.cond. 33. The purpose of using eye-shadow is to make the eyes look larger. See on oculique minores, 145 above. Postgate, CR. 13 (1899) 206-8, compares the use of belladonna to make the eyes look larger; but there is the essential difference that belladonna is put in the eyes, whereas the soot here is being used as eye-shadow.

Knoche's strictures are misplaced:

pascere ließe sich gewiß von der Haar-[#]und Bartpflege sagen, aber: wie mästet man eigentlich seine Augen? Und das mit Ruß? Oder steht oculi für supercilia? Dann wollen wir dem Thesaurus die neue Bedeutung einschicken. Aber wie mästet man die Augenbrauen mit Ruß?

Semper. The satirist means that sometimes the cinaedus is a real cinaedus, but sometimes he is a real man in disguise. Knoche interprets him as meaning that the adulterer is sometimes not to be trusted, and is then ironical about this, his own interpretation:

semper steht betont am Versanfang: so soll der Hausvater also doch zuweilen jenem Vielgewandten sein Vertrauen schenken, und nur deshalb nicht immer, weil am Ende vielleicht in dem Kinäden ein Ehebrecher steckt? Das klingt recht bieder-männisch.

suspectus tibi sit, quanto uox mollior et quo	O 23
saepius in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis.	O 24
hic erit in lecto fortissimus; exuit illic	O 25
personam docili Thais saltata Triphallo.	O 26

The theme of 17-22 is again treated in 23-6, but this time in terms of the cinaedus' dance. J. Colin has emphasised the role of the cinaedus as dancer. Singing was part of the dancer's performance. See Petronius, 23; Martial 3.63; Lucian, Salt. 2. That dancers were regularly considered as effeminate is shown by Lucian. Salt. 1,2. The cinaedus in 23-4 sings and dances in an effeminate way: his voice is effeminate, vox mollior, and his gestures are effeminate, his hands clinging to his hips which move effeminately (teneris) in the dance. Petronius, 23, Lucian. Salt. 63, 69, 78, contain evidence of the great part played by the hands in the dance; and Housman (I) p. xlix is right in asserting that the teneris lumbis are the cinaedus' own. They clearly refer to his effeminate motions as he dances. H.L. Wilson's notion, that the cinaedus is pretending to be interested in boys, and that the teneris lumbis are those of young boys, is wrong, and will gain no credence now that the role of cinaedus as dancer is well-known. Moreover, to show an interest in boys would be a sure way of making the husband suspicious of the effeminacy of the cinaedus. Effeminate (cinaedi) are not interested in παῖδες. They are not pederasts. In the ancient world it was 'normal' males who were interested in boys

The effeminate singing and dancing are described in two verses. Then, in two verses, the revelation: the effeminate dancer is a real male. This is first stated plainly (O.25), then in dance terms: the effeminate dancer, having just danced the part of Thais, forgets his part once he is in bed, and appears as what he really is: docilis Triphallus, i.e. a well-endowed male who has been well trained to sing

and dance as if he were a real woman. Cf. 3. 93-7.

Docilis, as Postgate pointed out in CR 13 (1899) 206-8, is almost a technical term for artistes' performances. To the passages he referred to, M.5.78.28, and Horace, Ep. 1.18.19, may be added M. 14.167:

Fervida ne trito tibi pollice pusula surgat
Exornent docilem candida plectra lyram.

M. Spect. 26:

Lusit Nereidum docilis chorus aequore toto
et vario faciles ordine pinxit aquas ...

The cinaedus is docilis in the sense that, a male, he is well trained to perform women's parts with great conviction.

The section then ends with the humorous metamorphosis of Thais, of whom it could be said that

vacua et plana omnia dicas
infra ventriculum et tenui distantia rima, (3.96-7)

into Triphallus. All the effeminacy of 23-4 is concentrated in Thais, and then contrasted sharply with Triphallo, the pointed word, the last in the section.

quem rides? aliis hunc mimum! sponsio fiat:	O	27
purum te contendo uirum. contendo: fateris?	O	28
an uocat ancillas tortoris pergula?	O	29

We have here a dialogue between the satirist and the pseudo-cinaedus. The vigour of the exchange is weakened by Clausen's punctuation (as above). I would repunctuate the passage in this way:

"quem rides? aliis hunc mimum! sponsio fiat:
 purum te contendo virum." "contendo". "fateris,
 an vocat ancillas tortoris pergula? "

Interpreted thus: the satirist addresses the pseudo-cinaedus:

"Whom are you trying to fool? Go and dance your pantomime before someone else; I bet you you are a pure man (for purus see below)".

The pseudo-cinaedus then says: "I accept your bet". The satirist then wins the bet: "admit that you are a pure man or I'll have the question put to the maids under torture, (and they'll reveal all about your sexual practice)".

This gives us a vigorous dialogue and explains the apparent repetition of contendo as being the cinaedus' acceptance of the bet. (Cf. J.G. Griffith, Hermes 91 (1963) 104-14). The tables are then turned on the cinaedus, and it is at the same time revealed that he is having sexual intercourse not only with the wife, but with the maids as well.

purum virum. This is usually interpreted as "a real male", but there is no doubt that it also means ore purus. The cinaedus is often ore impurus (see the passages referred to p.262 of Petronius and Apuleius, and the beginning of the O fragment, where the people who are similes cinaedis are ore impuri, Colocyntha, Chelidon). So this, the end of the section on cinaedi, harks back to the beginning. The

cinædus turns out to be in fact a real man; and he is a fututor,
therefore ore purus; a purus vir in both senses. So the maids can
tell.

noui	0 29
consilia et ueteres quaecumque monetis amici,	0 30
'pone seram, cohibe'. sed quis custodiet ipsos	0 31
custodes, qui nunc lasciuae furta puellae	0 32
hac mercede silent? crimen commune tacetur.	0 33
prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor.	0 34

The satirist has just accused the wife of adultery; he now imagines that the husband's old friends are about to give him the traditional kind of advice that old friends are expected to give in such circumstances: to keep his wife locked, and under the supervision of a custos. But the satirist anticipates the advice, and tells them that it is useless: the wife will seduce the guardians and buy their silence as well in this way.

The sequence of thought between this section and what precedes is difficult to grasp: Housman (IV) and Axelson, quoted below, identify the custos and the cinaedus. But the cinaedus never appears in the role of custos. In fact, the two are incompatible. In general, and this is clearly so in this case too, the cinaedus is the wife's favourite, not somebody employed by the husband and responsible to him for the behaviour of the wife. The sequence of thought will be examined later when a rearrangement of 349-78 will be proposed. It is sufficient to state here that the custos is not the same person as the cinaedus; that the old friends are advising the husband to use a custos to try and stop such intrigues between the wife and adulterers as have just been described.

Hac mercede has been unnecessarily complicated by scholars. To exemplify this I quote Knoche (III), and Axelson.

Knoche:

hac v.33 ist undeutlich, lehrt aber, daß der Autor,

wie schon v.13, das Demonstrativum hæc mercede miß braucht.

Axelson:

Are they (the custodes) people who are to see to it that the wife has no dealings with the cinaedus, who has just been unmasked as an adulterer? This is the opinion of Mr. Knoche but I do not see how it could be possible, considering hac mercede in v. 33. The expression is an unmistakable reference to the adultery with the cinaedus and the same, I think, is true of nunc in v. 32 which Mr. Knoche understands as temporal (p. 216, "was soll hier 'heutzutage'"), but which in my opinion is rather modal ("as we have seen").

The custodes are, as hac mercede warrants and nunc seems to confirm, the cinaedi themselves. This in itself involves nothing absurd: being sexually abnormal such people ought surely to be harmless to the virtue of the wife and therefore appropriate as guardians.

But the cinaedi are not custodes, and this nullifies Axelson's arguments. As for nunc, I can see no objection to taking it in a temporal sense with Knoche, but do not share the latter's puzzlement as to its meaning: the satirist is simply implying that such shamelessness is a sign of the times, that it could not have happened in any other age. Could anything be more typical of our author? Moreover, quaecumque monetis amici seems to indicate that this is hackneyed, traditional, old-fashioned advice. Nunc is opposed to this: such advice is of no use nowadays.

What then is the meaning of hac mercede? In the context, after the clear suggestion of quis custodiet ipsos custodes?, hac mercede = puella ipsa mercede, i.e. mercede is in apposition to hac.

From novi to cohibe, Juvenal anticipates the kind of advice that old friends give in such circumstances. He then states the reason why this advice is useless in a suggestive question which ends with the suggestive hac mercede silent.

This question is then capped with the sententia, crimen commune tacetur. The terse sententia is impressive in sound: the c r m n sounds of the first word, crimen, are repeated throughout.

This is not enough, however, to defend it against Axelson's condemnation, that it is a trivial aphorism. To do that, we must look at the sententia in the literary context, which is represented here by Ovid, Amores, 2.2, on which I think Juvenal was modelling these and neighbouring verses: the poem is addressed to Bagoas, a eunuch, the custos of Ovid's mistress. I quote the parts of the poem which I think are relevant:

huic (the mistress) furtiva tuo libertas munere detur, 15

quam dederis illi, reddat ut illa tibi. 16

conscius esse velis? domina est obnoxia servo; 17

...

huic, verae ut lateant, causae finguntur inanes; 31

...

sed tamen interdum tecum quoque iurgia nectat 35

et simulet lacrimas, carnificemque vocet;

tu contra obicies quae tuto diluat illa

et veris falso crimine deme fidem.

...

crede mihi, nulli sunt crimina grata marito, 51

nec quemquam, quamvis audiat, illa iuvant:

...

culpa nec ex facili quamvis manifesta probatur: 55

iudicis illa sui tuta favore venit.

...

quid dispar certamen inis? tibi verbera victo 61

adsunt, in gremio iudicis illa sedet.

We first note the general advice Ovid gives to Bagoas: be the conscius of your mistress; you and she must keep the husband happy by bringing against each other false charges which can easily be refuted.

The other important observation is the legal language used. So, in the 'Ovidian' context a crimen is a charge which is brought by the custos against the mistress. As the mistress and Bagoas are equally guilty (the mistress by having a lover; Bagoas by being her accomplice) they can be said to keep from the husband their crimen commune. In Juvenal crimen evidently means crime. But the literary reader would be aware of the more usual meaning of crimen in the context, viz. 'accusation', especially on account of the legal terminology prominent in the 'Ovidian' context. The sententia would therefore acquire the flavour of a paradox "the common accusation is kept silent", paradoxical in that if it tacetur it cannot be a crimen in that sense. And last, the crimen = 'crime' which is commune in one sense in the Ovidian context (unfaithful wife, custos conscius), is commune in another sense in Juvenal (the custos is himself the wife's lover).

This context must be taken into account before we decide whether we agree with Axelson that this is a 'trivial aphorism'.

prospicit hoc ... uxor is a link line. It sums up what precedes in one line, expanding crimen ... tacetur, and leads into the section on eunuchs, who were used as custodes.

The whole section from 0.29 ... novi to 0.34 is a link section, helping the satirist across from cinaedi who are adulterers, to eunuchs who are custodes. The section on custodes is the link between cinaedi and eunuchs. Any assessment of the literary value of this section

must take into account this fact, its secondary importance compared with the two long sections which precede and follow it. Axelson's strictures are therefore unjustified.

sunt quas eunuchi inbelles ac mollia semper	366
oscula delectent et desperatio barbae	367
et quod abortiuo non est opus.	368

The satire passes from custodes, who are given the charge of preventing the wife from committing adultery, to eunuchs. The transition is an easy one: eunuchs are used as custodes, (see e.g. Ov. A. 2.2; 2.3), so that sunt quas ... delectent follows naturally after the link-line prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor.

The object of the women's delectation is stated generally, eunuchi inbelles, then three characteristics of the eunuchs which women like, starting with the relatively tame and ending with the shocking: mollia oscula, desperatio barbae, quod abortivo non est opus. The listener might be led by the first two characteristics mentioned to think that the women only enjoy kissing the eunuchs; the third item reveals the truth.

The progression from kissing to coitus is a feature of erotic literature, appearing for example in Ovid, A. 2.5.57-60:

quod nimium placuere malum est, quod tota labellis
lingua tua est nostris, nostra recepta tuis.
nec tamen hoc unum doleo, non oscula tantum
iuncta queror, quamvis haec quoque iuncta queror

A. 1.4.61-4:

nocte vir includet; lacrimis ego maestus obortis
qua licet ad saevas prosequar usque fores.
oscula iam sumet, iam non tantum oscula sumet:
quod mihi das furtim, iure coacta dabis.

A.A. 1.669-70:

oscula qui sumpsit si non et cetera sumit
haec quoque quae data sunt perdere dignus erit.

With custodes, furta, lascivae puellae, we have been for some time in the world typical of elegy. (As Knoche (III) saw). The audience would therefore presumably be expected to perceive that Juvenal was still using elegiac material and adapting it to the satirical ethos. See also note on crimen commune tacetur.

	illa voluptas	368
summa tamen, quom iam calida matura iuuenta		369
inguina traduntur medicis, iam pectine nigro.		370

voluptas is here = sexual pleasure, a common meaning. Tamen makes clear the sequence of thought: certain women enjoy intercourse with eunuchs, but they enjoy it most when castration has been carried out after the boy had reached the age of puberty.

The time when castration is best carried out is described in a cum clause, quom ... traduntur, and within this clause, the required degree of maturity of the sexual organs is indicated by two cola, in anaphora and introduced by iam, describing the inguina: iam calida matura iuuenta, iam pectine nigro. This syntactical analysis allows us to see that pectine nigro is syntactically parallel to calida iuuenta, and that matura is understood in the second iam colon: "loins now mature with hot youth, now (mature) with black comb". So we can appreciate what Juvenal is striving after: the abstract characteristic of inguinal maturity of the first iam colon, calida iuuenta, is replaced in the second iam colon by the very vivid and concrete characteristic of inguinal maturity, pectine nigro. This substitution of a vivid and concrete detail for a general abstraction is isolated in a short iam colon at the end of the period, and so concludes it on a humorous note. The visualisation of the black comb of pubic hair is prepared for by the enjambement

iam calida matura iuuenta

inguina

which has focused the attention on the required part of the boy's body.

ergo expectatos ac iussos crescere primum	371
testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,	372
tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus.	373

We now have a three-line period joined to what precedes by ergo. The matter is the same as that of 369 quom iam ... -70, but the emphasis now shifts. In the former sentence, the emphasis was on the woman's pleasure; in the present, what is of central importance is that the boy loses nothing by being castrated. In 368-70, the point of the operation is voluptas summa, the woman's voluptas, as is indicated by the context. In 371-3, the point is in the last line

tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus.

To understand the point of the section correctly, we must read the period carefully from the start:

Juvenal makes us watch carefully and with expectation the growth of the boy's testicles: expectatos, iussos crescere, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres. And when we have watched them grow, in the last two words of the section, Heliodorus snatches them away, rapit Heliodorus: Juvenal has made vivid the boy's loss by rhetorical means: we watch the testicles grow, reach the right stage of their development, and then Heliodorus snatches them away. The paradox of

tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus

is thereby made obvious. The loss, damnum, of the adolescent is graphically described: yet we are told that the only loss is the barber's; the paradox is obvious and its meaning clear: Heliodorus may snatch away the testicles, but the adolescent retains all his virility.

Ruperti's

tantum tonsoris damno non matronarum

is therefore wrong. What Juvenal means is

tantum tonsoris damno non adulescentis.

Even without the rhetorical aid, the occurrence in the same context of the ideas of snatching away and of loss, damnum, should have alerted scholars to the paradox. Cf. Hor. Ep. 1.16.55-6:

nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,
damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.

H. Ep. 1.17.55-7:

nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.

Prop. 1.4.25-6:

non ullo gravius temptatur Cynthia damno
quam sibi cum rapto cessat amore deus.

And in a context similar to our own: M. 9.6. 4-5:

non puer avari sectus arte mangonis
virilitatis damna maeret ereptae

J. 12.34-6:

imitatus castora qui se
eunuchum ipse facit cupiens evadere damno
testiculi.

The last line, which contains the paradox, is artistically constructed. It ends with the mock grandeur of the resounding five-syllable Heliodorus, a solemn sound for somebody with a disgusting trade (for five-syllable words at the end of the Juvenalian hexameter, see Appendix IA). The snatching and the damnum divide the line exactly in two between them

tonsoris tantum damno / rapit Heliodorus

the two halves, on each side of the caesura have seven syllables each, and the two important words, damno and rapit, meet at the caesura. No translation I consult conveys the paradox of the last line.

mangonum pueros uera ac miserabilis urit	373 A
debilitas, follisque pudet cicerisque relictī.	373 B
conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat	374
balnea nec dubie custodem uitis et horti	375
prouocat a domina factus spado.	376

In this section, Juvenal elaborates on tonsoris tantum damno, and does so by comparing the usual kind of eunuch, the boy castrated early in life by the slave-dealer, with the eunuch castrated by the wife with her pleasure and safety in mind, the kind of eunuch we find in Martial 6.2, 6.67, Sen. de matr. (quoted above, p. 262). The married eunuch of J.1.22 is also probably a eunuch of that kind, and also Bagoas in Lucian's Eunuch.

follisque pudet cicerisque relictī was explained by H. Jackson. Jackson was inclined at first to translate "they are ashamed of their empty bag (the scrotum) and the peas (the testicles) which they have lost", but on Postgate's contention that relictī here should rather mean "left in their possession", and Platt's suggestion that cicer, like Aristophanes' $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\beta\iota\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ should mean $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, i.e. pod not peas, he changed his mind and translated "they are ashamed of the bag (scrotum) and the pod (penis) which alone remain them". This second interpretation is right, and P. Green is wrong to go back to the first. (See below).

The mangonis puer is ashamed of his diminutive and truncated organ, follis pudet cicerisque relictī; the darling of his mistress displays his quite proudly in the baths, allowing it to be seen from afar, (conspicuus longe), and drawing everybody's attention to it, (cunctis notabilis).

For the mangonis puer suffers from a real and pitiable infirmity, (vera ac miserabilis urit debilitas), while the other is so far from

being sexually infirm that he most certainly is equal to Priapus,
(nec dubie custodem ... provocat), (for provocat, see 1.24). The
comparison of the two eunuchs can therefore be seen to be constructed
on a chiastic pattern:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | mangonum pueros | / | a domina factus spado |
| 2. | vera ac miserabilis
urit debilitas | / | nec dubie custodem ... provocat |
| 3. | follisque pudet ...
relicti | / | conspicius longe ... notabilis:
intrat balnea |

So that we get the pattern

1 2 3 / 3 2 1

These correspondences militate against Buecheler's refusal to admit the genuineness of 373A and 373B preserved by the Bodleian MS.O, (and Buecheler is followed by Knoche (I).

The correspondences also show that 373A, B, are to be read as forming one unit with 374-6 ... spado, and not as indicated by P. Green's translation:

Then what the surgeon chops will hurt nobody's trade
but the barber's.

(Slave-dealers' boys are different: pathetically weak,
Ashamed of their empty bag, their lost little chickpeas.)
Look at that specimen - you could spot him a mile off, ...

dormiat ille 376
 cum domina, sed tu iam durum, Postume, iamque 377
 tondendum eunucho Bromium committere noli. 378

Compare:

Cat. 61. 136:

sordebant tibi vilicae
 concubine hodie atque heri:
 nunc tuum cinerarius
 tondet os ...

diceris male te a tuis
 unguentate glabris marite
 abstinere, sed abstine.

Hor. O. 4.10:

O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
 insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae
 et, quae nunc umeris involitant deciderint comae ...

Stat. Silv. 3.4.

M. 11.78. 3-4:

flammea texuntur sponsae, iam virgo paratur,
 tondebit pueros iam nova nupta tuos

A.P. 5.277:

ἄρσενας ἄλλος ἔχοι· φιλέειν δ' ἐγὼ θίδα γυναικας
 ἐς χρόνιην φιλίην ὅτε φυλασσομένης.
 οὐ καλὸν ἡβητῆρες· ἀπεχθίζω γὰρ ἐκείνην
 τὴν τρίχα, τὴν φθοιερήν, τὴν ταχὺ φουομένην

Lucian. Amores, 26:

εἰ δ' εἰκόσιν ἔτων ἀποπειρήν παῖδά τις, αὐτὸς
 ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ πασχητιῶν ἀμφίβολον Ἀφροδίτην
 μετὰδιώκων· σκληροὶ γὰρ οἱ τῶν μελῶν ἀπανδρωθέντες

ὄγκοι καὶ τραχύ μὲν διτὶ τοῦ πάλαι μαλακοῦ
 πυκνοθὲν βούλοισ τὸ γένειον, οἱ δ' εὐφρεῖς μηροὶ
 θριξίν ὥσπερ εἰ ῥυπῶντες.

Arnobius, V. 25, p. 197, 2 (quoted by Friedlaender) et in speciem
 levigari nondum duri et hystri culi pusionis.

All editions and translations I consult have interpreted iam ...
iam, as meaning 'now, already', i.e. as meaning that Bromius is
 already durus and tondendus. It is demonstrated by the passages
 referred to above that a young boy ceased being suitable as pusio,
puer delicatus, when his body had grown hard; when the growth of facial
 and body hair marred his beauty; and when his long locks, (whence
Bromius), had been shorn off. So, if we interpret iam ... iam as
 meaning 'already', the puer delicatus, Bromius, has already become
 unsuitable as a puer delicatus, and the point of the advice to Postumus
 is non-existent. Of modern editors and scholars, P. Green is the
 only one to make it clear how he interprets the passage:

So let them sleep together -

Yet I wouldn't bet on a handsome, passionate youth

With his first beard sprouting to better that performance.

This is based on Ruperti's interpretation:

Talis eunuchus, etsi bene mentulatus, dormiat, concubat
 cum domina, coniuge tua, Postume, quae ex eo non gravida
 fiet; sed Bromium, puerum vel servum, concubinum tuum,
 qui iam durus est, h.e. duratus ac firmus ad labores
 corporis, vel robustus ac virilis, iamque tondendus,
 h.e. barbatus, huiusmodi Eunucho committere noli, h.e.
 cave patiaris, illum quasi cum hoc descendere in certamen
 stupri, uxori tuae inferendi, quum verendum sit ne haec
 ita confestim concipiat.

That interpretation is wrong; Bromius is a puer delicatus. And why should the satirist choose a puer delicatus who has reached manhood to be contrasted in point of manliness with the eunuch? The choice would be absurd. The truth is that iam = 'now, soon'. This is the natural interpretation, giving us the idea parallel to that in the Horace, and in A.P. 5.277, the brevity of the time when pueri delicati are to be enjoyed before they reach manhood, (see also 11.156-8, where the boy who is too mature to be a puer delicatus tries to hide the fact), and the satirist is encouraging Postumus to enjoy the short pleasure to be had from his puer, Bromius, before the latter passes from boyhood to manhood, and so becomes unsuitable as a pusio.

The whole paragraph is then ironical. The eunuch is potent, says Juvenal; so let him sleep with his mistress; but keep him away from your darling boy, whose charms will soon be fled. The irony is in the implied unfavourable comparison of the wife to the pusio, (the wife may be shared with the eunuch, but the pusio is to be jealously guarded), and also in the iam ... iam, which gently mocks the ethos of paederastic poetry represented here by the Horace and the A.P. committere means 'to entrust', not 'to set one against the other', as in Green and Ruperti above.

So the satirist ends the section on virile eunuchs on this ironical note, by contrasting wife and pusio, natural rivals, (cf. Cat.61.129-33; M.11.78.3-4), and by urging Postumus to keep his pusio from such eunuchs. The earlier section on Postumus, (21-37), ended with the same theme, that of the advantages a pusio has over a wife. To enliven the present section, Juvenal introduces a direct address, and he chooses as his imaginary interlocutor the same Postumus who has appeared in a similar context earlier, (34-7). Postumus reappears here because the theme of

the contrast pusio/domina reappears. Neither the theme nor Postumus is of any importance in the satire as a whole; both only appear in the two passages discussed; and there only because the contrast between pusio and wife is most effective in the presence of the bridegroom, Postumus.

si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat	379
uocem uendentis praetoribus.	380

There is no transition, not even a formal one, from eunuchs to singers, from 378-379.

I suggest a rearrangement of the verses between 345 and 378, including O.1-34. Many scholars, the latest of these being J.G.Griffith, have suggested that O.1-34 should not follow 365 but 345. I agree with them, but would further suggest that since 366-78, the section on eunuchs, adheres closely to O.1-34, it too be transferred up the satire to follow O.1-34. The order would then be as follows:

ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?	345
in quacumque domo vivit luditque professus	O.1
obscenum, tremula promittit et omnia dextra,	
invenies omnes turpes similesque cinaedis.	
his violare cibos sacraeque adsistere mensae	
permittunt, et vasa iubent frangenda lavari	
cum Colocyntha bibit vel cum barbata Chelidon.	
purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,	
in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur	
Psyllus ab Euhoplo. quid quod nec retia turpi	
iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem	
munimenta umeri pulsatoremque tridentem	
qui nudus pugnare solet? pars ultima ludi	
accipit has animas aliusque in carcere nervos.	
sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor et illis	
cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recuset	
flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri.	
horum consiliis nubunt subitaeque recedunt,	

his languentem animum servant et seria vitae,
 his clunem atque latus discunt vibrare magistris,
 quicquid praeterea scit qui docet. haud tamen illi
 semper habenda fides: oculos fuligine pascit
 distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter.
 suspectus tibi sit, quanto vox mollior et quo
 saepius in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis.
 hic erit in lecto fortissimus; exuit illic
 personam docili Thais saltata Triphallo.
 "quem rides? aliis hunc mimum! sponsio fiat:
 purum te contendo virum." "contendo." "fateris?
 an vocat ancillas tortoris pergula?" novi
 consilia et veteres quaecumque monetis amici,
 "pone seram, cohibe". sed quis custodiet ipsos
 custodes, qui nunc lascivae furta puellae
 hac mercede silent? crimen commune tacetur.
 prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor.
 sunt quas eunuchi inbelles ac mollia semper
 oscula delectent et desperatio barbae
 et quod abortivo non est opus. illa voluptas
 summa tamen, quom iam calida matura iuventa
 inguina traduntur medicis, iam pectine nigro.
 ergo expectatos ac iussos crescere primum
 testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,
 tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus.
 mangonum pueros vera ac miserabilis urit
 debilitas, follisque pudet cicerisque relictis;
 conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat
 balnea nec dubie custodem vitis et horti

O.34

366

provocat a domina factus spado. dormiat ille
 cum domina, sed tu iam durum, Postume, iamque
 tondendum eunucho Bromium committere noli. 378
 iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido, 349
 nec melior silicem pedibus quae conterit atrum
 quam quae longorum vehitur cervice Syrorum.
 ut spectet ludos, conducit Ogulnia vestem,
 conducit comites, sellam, cervical, amicas,
 nutricem et flavam cui det mandata puellam.
 haec tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni
 levibus athleticis et vasa novissima donat.
 multis res angusta domi, sed nulla pudorem
 paupertatis habet nec se metitur ad illum
 quem dedit haec posuitque modum. tamen utile quid sit
 prospiciunt aliquando viri, frigusque famemque
 formica tandem quidam expavere magistra:
 prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.
 ac velut exhausta recidivus pullulet arca
 nummus et e pleno tollatur semper acervo,
 non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constant. 365
 si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat 379
 vocem vendentis praetoribus ...

A.

The longer O fragment, quite apart from the manuscript evidence, is firmly locked into place after 345 by one negative and three positive arguments:

First, the negative: the theme of 335-45 is, as we saw above, pp.246ff. the decline in religious feeling. Libido is there, but in the background, so that there is an awkward hiatus between 345

sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?

and 349, (346-8 being excised):

iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido.

Now the positive:

(1) O.1 follows smoothly after 345. 345 implies: "There is a Clodius, an adulterer, at every altar", and O.1 goes on, "In every home where ...".

The ara, the altar, symbolized for the Romans the sanctity of the home, and the combination of ara and focus is a traditional way of referring to the sacred nature of the home. Further, ara itself is used, sometimes accompanied by patria to mean the home. (See TLL s.v. ara, IA2 Col. 384). The idea that the sanctity of the arae of the gods is being violated is picked up in O.1 by the idea that another ara, the ara patria, is being violated. The implied words, 'every altar' in 345 are picked up by 'every home' in O.1, domus speaking to ara. The idea of the sanctity of the home is picked up in O.4 by violare cibos, sacrae mensae, and in O.7 by laribus.

(2) 345 suggested that there was a Clodius at every altar, and O.1 picked up the idea of 'every altar' with 'every home'; but the idea of 'a Clodius', an adulterer, seemed to be entirely forgotten. But at the end of the O fragment, (before we come to the custodes theme in O.29), we find our Clodius, our adulterer; and he is indeed in many respects like Clodius: Clodius disguised himself as a woman to gain entrance into his mistress' home; our adulterer disguises himself as an effeminate. Clodius disguised himself as a dancer, (psaltria, 337); our adulterer is a dancer too, a cinaedus, whose dance is described in O.23-26.

So the end of the O fragment harks back to the implied link between 345 and O.1: just as there is a Clodius beside every altar (outside the house) in 345, so in the O fragment there is a Clodius beside every

altar (inside the home), the cinaedus.

(3) The role of the custos in O.29-34 has not been clearly perceived by scholars, see above, p.279.

We saw that in 345, Juvenal hinted at adultery in temples. 9.22-5 was quoted as a parallel. The specific mention of Clodius would point more specifically to the temple of Bona Dea as the scene of adulterous activities. Cf. Ovid, A.A. 3.636-9:

cum sedeat Phariae sistris operata iuvencae,
quoque sui comites ire vetantur eat;
cum fuget a templis oculos Bona Diva virorum
praeterquam si quos illa venire iubet.

Tib. 1.6.21-2:

exibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.

After adultery outside the home (with adultery inside the home also hinted at, since this is where Clodius committed adultery), Juvenal goes on to accuse the wife of adultery in the home with the cinaedus. Then comes the custos theme, and it fits into the context thus: the role of the custos was not only to watch over the wife (or her elegiac equivalent) outside the home, but to keep her under close supervision inside the home as well. Cf. Ovid, A.A. 3. 619-30, where the role of the custos inside the home is described, and then in 633-8, his role outside the house, the temple of Bona Dea being one of the haunts of adulterous wives mentioned there. So the theme of the custos here binds together and concludes the sections on adultery outside the house (hinted at in 345) and inside the house (O.20-7).

B.

The second suture is between O.34 and 366. We saw above (p. 284)

that O.29-34, the custos theme, was a link between the cinaedi and the eunuchs, eunuchs being often used as custodes. So, if O.1-34 is moved up to follow 345, the section on eunuchs must be moved up to follow it.

C.

The third suture is between 378 and 349. We saw that libido in 349 did not seem to follow well after the theme of sacrilege in 335-45. It follows much more fittingly after a section on eunuchs in which the satirist has talked about the lengths to which women will go to have their sexual desires satisfied, summa voluptas. It must be admitted however, that although thematically libido follows smoothly after the section on eunuchs, verbally, there seems to be a hiatus between 378 and 349. I suggest that we may have here a lacuna of one or two lines which summed up the section on eunuchs, bringing back into prominence the idea of women's libido, and the drift of which was: "so unrestrained are women nowadays in satisfying their lust", which was then followed by 349, "and the great and the small are equally lustful".

However, if we look at 1.9-17:

quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras	
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum	10
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,	
Frontonis platani convolsaque marmora clamant	
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.	
expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.	
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos	15
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum	
dormiret.	

we see that 14 is a generalizing line of the same kind as 349, and is only there to help the satirist to pass from his general attack on poetry of the day to the statement of his own qualifications for writing poetry; and, as with 349, there is no close verbal link between it and what precedes. So it could be that that 349, (and the two lines which follow it), is unexceptionable as a generalising statement which allows the satirist to pass from the libido of great and small to the extravagance of great and small, and that the suddenness of

iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido

should not be taken exception to.

D.

The last suture is between 365 and 379. We saw above (p. 260) that the section on the extravagance of women concluded with the *sententia* in 362

prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.

After the *sententia*, we have in 363-4 two picturesque comparisons followed by the flat line:

non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constant.

In the text as it is, this section of three lines blunts the edge of the paragraph as a whole, and does not serve any structural purpose.

In their new position, 363-4 are the protasis for 365

non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constant.

which sums up, (using the word gaudia which is picked up by gaudet), the idea of extravagance of women which is picked up by the implication that women pay a high price for intercourse with singers in 379-80:

si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat

vocem vendentis praetoribus ...

The theme of ladies paying a high price for singers to remove their fibula and have intercourse with them is found in J.6.73:

solvitur his magno comoedi fibula

and Martial, 14.215:

Fibula.

Dic mihi simpliciter, comoedis et citharoedis,

fibula, quid praestas? "carius ut futuant."

So the satire passes from 'extravagance' in 365, through 'extravagance of women who love singers' in 379-80, to 'women who love singers', the theme of 379-97. And gaudia in 365 is picked up by gaudet in 379.

To sum up, the proposed order and sequence is:

- 335-45 'Clodius' defiles the sanctity of temples.
- 346-8 = (0.1-29 Another 'Clodius' defiles the sanctity of
(the home.
- (0.29-34 A custos is suggested to frustrate both types
of 'Clodii'. But wives even seduce custodes
nowadays.
- 366-78 Some even like eunuchs, who are sometimes used
as custodes. But they prefer and castrate for
their own use the more potent kind of eunuch.
- ? (lacuna +) 349-65 This extreme lustfulness is found in great and
small. Great and small are also equally
extravagant. Much more so than men. Women never
count the cost of anything they like.
- 379-97 If they like singers, they'll pay anything for
a singer's favours. They'll play with his
instruments ...

If this proposed rearrangement is correct, it means that in our tradition, (excepting 0), the two passages (a) 349-65 and (b) 366-78, had changed places. In 0, however, it would seem that we have traces of both the proposed and the traditional sequence.

For, on the one hand, since, in 0, 366 follows after 0.34, and

since O.34 is a doublet of 348 (since 346-8 is a truncated version of O.1-34), it seems that we have a trace of the proposed order:

346-48 = O.1-34	}	A
366-78		

Yet, on the other hand, O also presents the traditional sequence:

335-45	}	B
346-48 = O.1-34		
349-65		
O.1-34 = 346-48		
366-78		

Two questions can then be asked about O: if O is aware that 366-78 should follow immediately after O.34=348, (as in A above), why does it also, like the rest of the tradition, make 349-65 follow after 348=O.34? (as in B); if O preserves in O.1-34 the full version of a passage which only survives in a truncated version in the rest of the tradition, why does it preserve both the full version, O.1-34, and the truncated version, 346-8? The answer to both questions is perhaps to be found in the hypothesis hazarded by J.G. Griffith, that O culled O.1-34 out of an anthology. But since O preserves, of lines unknown to the rest of the tradition, not only O.1-34, but also 373a and 373b, I take Griffith's hypothesis one step further and suggest that the passage of which O had peculiar knowledge was not only O.1-34, but O.1-34, 366-78. O would then have in front of him, on the one hand, one or more MS. in which the traditional order was to be found:

335-45

346-8

349-65

366-78

379-97

and on the other hand, a fragment, perhaps from an anthology:

O.1-34

366-78

Had O then looked at matters critically, he would have realized that 346-8 of the tradition was a truncated version of his fragment's O.1-34; he would then have written O.1-34 in the place of 346-8 and his fragment, O.1-34, 366-78 would have fallen into place, thus:

335-45

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{O.1-34} \\ \text{366-78} \end{array} \right)$$

349-65

379-97

But not being critical, he copied out 346-8 in its traditional place and inserted his fragment O.1-34, 366-78 to make it fit in with the tradition, and produced

335-45

346-48

349-65

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{O.1-34} \\ \text{366-78} \end{array} \right)$$

379-97

My speculations are (a) that in the MS. at the beginning of our tradition O.1-34 was truncated to become 346-8, and 346-8 was written where O.1-34 should have been, after 345; (b), that 349-65 and 366-78

changed places and were written in that order instead of in the correct order, 366-78, 349-65, (and perhaps one or two lines were lost between 378 and 349); then, (c), that O had available to him the traditional text plus a fragment consisting of O.1-34, 366-78, i.e., the original version of 346-8 followed by the passage which originally followed it, and that he inserted this fragment in such a way as to make it fit in with the tradition, and so inserted it in the wrong place, thus preserving both the complete and the truncated version of O.1-34.

These speculations are an attempt to make a few observed facts in O fit in with my hypothesis concerning the correct order of lines 335 - 97. The speculations are not meant to support my hypothesis, which stands or falls according to the strength or weakness of the internal arguments concerning the links and transitions between the different passages.

si gaudet cantu, nullius fibula durat	379
uocem uendentis praetoribus. organa semper	380
in manibus, densi radiant testudine tota	381
sardoniches, crispo numerantur pectine chordae	382
quo tener Hedymeles operas dedit: hunc tenet, hoc se	383
solatur gratoque indulget basia plectro.	384

Si gaudet cantu ... praetoribus, as we saw above, effects the transition from the theme of extravagance to that of singing. The hint of expense is then forgotten and the theme of 'love of music' developed in a tricolon: organa ... manibus, densi ... sardoniches, crispo ... chordae; the first colon states generally that the woman always has musical instruments in her hand, the second and third further exemplify the statement. The relative clause, quo ... dedit, then tells us something special about the pecten: it is the plectrum with which Hedymeles gave his performance. The rhythm of the passage organa semper ... operas dedit makes this peculiarity of the pecten stand out: as the first two cola of the tricolon are simple, i.e. contain only one main verb, the third, ... chordae, seems to fit into the pattern, so that the subsequent addition of the second clause, the relative clause quo ... dedit, is striking. And while the syntactical shape is affecting us in this way, the shape of the verse is working towards the same effect by different means: the first two cola are marked by very noticeable enjambements: in manibus, sardoniches; the third colon is end-stopped, or rather seems to be; but before our mind has accepted this apparent change in verse/sense correspondence, it is reassured: the relative clause takes the place of the expected enjambement. By playing on our perceptions in this way, the satirist focuses our attention on the relative clause and its content, the peculiarity of the pecten: it was used by Hedymeles.

The section then ends with another tricolon, with anaphora and asyndeton between the first two cola, while the third colon is linked to the second by -que, and the demonstrative pronoun in anaphora in cola 1 and 2 is replaced in the third by the antecedent of the pronoun, plectro. This third colon makes the humorous point which concludes the section; the humour depends on an effect of para prosdokian. We saw above how Juvenal drew our attention to the relative clause quo ... dedit, and the message of the relative clause is that the quill used by the woman was used by Hedymeles; the emphasis in the relative clause is on Hedymeles. It is therefore natural that when we read hunc tenet, hoc se solatur, we should suppose Hedymeles to be the antecedent of the demonstrative pronouns. Our thoughts are further led into this path by the reference to sexual relations in si gaudet ... praetoribus, a theme which has not up to now been developed in this section; nothing in gratoque ... basia makes us suspect that we are in the wrong, and it is only the last word, plectro, which reveals the truth: the antecedent of hunc and hoc was not Hedymeles but pectine. By means of this piece of verbal prestidigitation, by replacing at the last second the pronouns of the first two cola by the unexpected antecedent, Juvenal makes the point that what a woman loves in a musician is not the man but the musical instruments. He is making about the musician and his instruments the same point he made, by other means, about the gladiator and his sword in 110-3.

Complete understanding of the point of 383-4 explains the use of the two synonyms pectine, plectro in the space of three verses.

When Lubinus, Prateus, Duff, Ruperti, point out to the reader that hunc refers to pectine their anticipation blunts the point of the section.

crispo pectine: the plectrum which makes the strings vibrate.

See Ruperti, Friedlaender, Duff.

sardonyches: scholars are divided into two groups, some believing that the sardonix stones are on the lyre, others that they are on rings on the woman's fingers, and that they flash all over the lyre as her fingers run up and down the strings. I believe the second interpretation to be the right one. To Duff's parallels may be added the argument that the first interpretation makes the second colon of a different genus from the other two, whereas with the second interpretation, we have the general statement in the first colon, then the description in the two following cola of the two hands playing the lyre, one, the left, with the fingers, the other, the right, with the plectrum. Cf. V. A. 6. 645-7:

nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum
iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.

For, in lyre-playing, the right hand held the plectrum, and the fingers of the left hand touched the strings without the help of any instrument. (See Smith, Dictionary of Antiquities, s.v. lyra; also Daremberg, Saglio).

As rings were usually worn on the left hand, (see Smith, Dict. Ant. s.v. anulus; also Pliny, NH 33.43), the sardonyches in the second colon and the pecten in the third refer to and differentiate between the left and the right hand respectively.

numerantur. This is usually taken to mean that the strings are struck one after another. Duff's explanation is different: the strings are not counted, he explains, but, being numerous, are struck; and he cites as parallels M.8.28.7, 8.65.9. In both passages cited by Duff, however, the verb numerare is to be translated by 'number', and the unusual usage is there for stylistic effect, for an effect of slight

irony and whimsy: the wool is counting the seven Timavuses, the chariots their numerous elephants. To try and paraphrase numerare in both these cases instead of translating literally would spoil the effect desired by the epigrammatist. Since, then, the use of numerare is meant to refer with slight irony to the unusual number concerned, these passages cannot explain ours: for there is no hint here that the lyre has more than the usual number of strings. There is no doubt, however, that the use of numerare here is odd, and it is certainly used for a purpose.

Numerare in a musical context inevitably reminds one of numerus, 'rhythm', and more generally, 'music'. Like Martial's, Juvenal's peculiar use of numerare is for ironical effect, but of a different kind; the ironical reference is not to the number of the strings, but to the fact that they play music, a tune. From the strings come numbers. This playful punning on numerus/numerare is perhaps suggested to Juvenal by the juxtaposition of numerus and septem in V.A. 6.646:

obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum

where Virgil is suggesting by the juxtaposition a connection between the Orphic heptachord (see Servius ad loc.) and the word numerus in its meaning 'music'. Juvenal's numerare refers to and makes fun of this suggestion of Virgil's.

Operae, as far as can be judged by instances known to me, refers to the fulfilling of an obligation, the performance of one's professional activities, or trade. It is used in connection with hired labourers and craftsmen, of the business of publicani, of prostitutes, of soldiers, of taking part in shows, gladiatorial and dramatic, of the performance of the duty of client to patron and vice-versa.

Hired labourers and craftsmen:

Petr. 117:

hominis operas locavi, non caballi.

Sen. Benef. 3.22.1:

servus, ut placet Chrysippo, perpetuus mercennarius est. Quemadmodum ille beneficium dat, ubi plus praestat quam in quod operas locavit, sic servus ubi benevolentia erga dominum ...

Sen. Ep. 29.6:

ostendet mihi lepidum philosophum Aristonem qui in gestatione diserebat - hoc enim ad edendas operas tempus exceperat. (Seneca seems to be comparing the degenerate philosopher to a common hireling who philosophises for money. Cf. Cic. Off. 1.151).

Cic. Off. 1.150:

Inliberales autem et sordidi quaestus mercenariorum omnium quorum operae non quorum artes emuntur ... 151. In quibus autem artibus aut prudentia maior inest aut non mediocris utilitas quaeritur, ut medicina, ut architectura, ut doctrina rerum honestarum, hae sunt iis quorum ordini conveniunt honestae.

Cic. Off. 2.12:

Ea enim ipsa, quae inanima diximus, pleraque sunt hominum operis effecta, quae nec haberemus nisi manus et ars accessisset, nec iis ...

Cic. Off. 1.41:

est autem infima condicio et fortuna servorum, quibus non male praecipunt qui ita iubent uti ut mercenariis: operam exigendam, iusta praebenda. (opera is used in

the same sense as operae. It is quoted here for comparison).

Pl. Asin. 425:

iussin columnis deici operas araneorum ?

(the spiders are compared to craftsmen, probably weavers).

Apul. Met. 9.5.1:

Is gracili pauperie laborans fabriles operas praebendo
parvis illis mercedibus vitam tenebat.

Apul. Apol. 17:

ego adeo servosne tu habeas ad agrum colendum an ipse
mutuarias operas cum vicinis tuis cambies, neque scio
neque laboro.

Cic. Verr. 5.68:

Lautumias Syracusanas omnes audistis, plerique nostis.
Opus est ingens, magnificum, regum ac tyrannorum; totum
est e saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et multorum
operis penitus exciso ...

Of the business of publicani.

Cic. Fam. 13.9.3:

Quae cum ita sint, in maiorem modum a te peto C. Pupium,
qui est in operis eius societatis (of publicani) omnibus
tuis officiis atque omni liberalitate tueare curesque ut
eius operae, quod tibi facile factu est, quam gratissimae
sint sociis, remque et utilitatem sociorum per te quam
maxime defensam et auctam velis.

Cic. Verr. 3.94:

Antea cum equester ordo iudicaret, improbi et rapaces
magistratus in provinciis inserviebant publicanis;
ornabant eos qui in operis erant; quemcumque equitem

Romanum in provincia viderant, beneficiis ac liberalitate
prosequebantur.

Cic. Verr. 2.171:

Canuleius vero qui in portu Syracusis operas dabat,
furta quoque eius ...

Cic. Fam. 13.65. 1:

Cum P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro
magistro dat, mihi summa familiaritas consuetudoque est ...

Cic. Att. 11.10.1:

P. Terentius, meus necessarius, operas in portu et
scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit.

Cic. Planc. 47:

nam ut ego doceo gratiosum esse in sua tribu Plancium,
quod multis benigne fecerit, pro multis spoponderit, in
operas plurimos patris auctoritate et gratia miserit...

Of prostitutes.

Plaut. Bacch. 45.

Plaut. Merc. 815:

Pol haud censebam istarum esse operarum patrem.
(the father has just been found with a prostitute in
his house).

Plaut. Asin. 721:

Opto annum hunc perpetuum mihi huius operas.

Plaut. Rud. 321:

Cum istius modi virtutibus operisque natus qui sit
Eum quidem ad carnificem est aequius quam ad Venerem
commeare (of a leno).

Plaut. Truc. 733-4:

Plus enim es intro missus quom dabas.

Sine vicissim qui dant ob illud quod dant operis utier.

To this class also belongs, perhaps, Apul. Met. 8.26:

erat quidem iuvenis satis corpulentus ... qui foris
quidem circumgestantibus deam cornu canens adambulabat,
domi vero promiscuis operis partiarius agebat concubinus.

Of soldiers' service.

Sen. Prov. 1.5.1:

Adice nunc quod pro omnibus est optimum quemque, ut ita
dicam, militare et edere operas.

Sen. Prov. 1.2.10:

una manu latam libertati viam faciet. ferrum istud,
etiam civili bello purum et innoxium, bonas tandem ac
nobiles edet operas: libertatem quam patriae non potuit
Catoni dabit.

(Where the metaphor seems to be drawn from military service).

Cic. Att. 6.2.6;

Non. Mai. in Ciliciam cogitabam; ibi cum Iunium mensem
consumpsissem, ... Quintilem in reditu ponere. Annuae
enim mihi operae a.d. III Kal. Sext. emerentur.

(Where again the metaphor seems to be drawn from military
service).

Of shows, gladiatorial and dramatic.

Tac. Ann. 14.14:

notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere
subegit ...

Suet. Aug. 45:

Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo
praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est; athletis et
conservavit privilegia et ampliavit, gladiatores sine
missione edi prohibuit, coercionem in histriones ...

Suet. Cal. 58:

Cum in crypta, per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles
ex Asia ad edendas in scaena operas evocati praeparar-
entur ...

Suet. Aug. 43:

Ad scaenicas et gladiatorias operas et equitibus Romanis
aliquando est usus ...

Suet. Tib. 35:

et ex iuventute utriusque ordinis profligatissimus
quisque quominus in opera scaenae harenaeque edenda
senatus consulto teneretur, ...

(opera is used = operae).

Suet. Nero, 12:

Exhibuit ... pyrrhicas quasdam e numero epheborum,
quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanae
singulis obtulit.

(opera for operae).

Of the obligations due by client to patron and vice versa.

Ter. Phorm. 266-7:

Hic in noxiast, ille ad dicendam causam adest;
quom illest, hic praestost: tradunt operas mutuas.

Sen. Cont. 4.8:

Patronus operas remissas repetens.

Bello civili patronus victus et proscriptus ad libertum

confugit. receptus est ab eo et rogatus, ut operas remitteret, remisit consignatione facta. restitutus indicit operas.

Cic. Fin. 1.10:

Ego vero, quoniam forensibus operis, laboribus, periculis, non deseruisse mihi videor praesidium quo a populo Romano locatus sum ...

Cic. Sull. 26:

quid ... si ille labor meus pristinus, si sollicitudo, si officia, si operae, si vigiliae deserviunt amicis, praesto sunt omnibus; si neque amici in foro requirunt studium meum, neque respublica in curia ...

Cic. Murena, 21:

sed non licet; agitatur rem militarem, insectatur totam hanc legationem, adsiduitatis et operarum harum cotidianarum putat esse consulatum. "Apud exercitum mihi fueris" inquit, "tot annos forum non attigeris; afueris tam diu et, cum longo intervallo veneris, cum his qui in foro habitaverint de dignitate contendas?" Primum ista nostra adsiduitas ... Sed ut hoc omisso, ad studiorum atque artium contentionem revertamur, qui potest dubitari quin ad consulatum adipiscendum multo plus adfert dignitatis rei militaris quam iuris civilis gloria? Vigilas tu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perveniat ... tu caves ne tui consultores ille ne urbes aut castra capiantur.

Cic. Off. 2. 68, (talking of the risks of offending people while
defending someone in court):

utendum etiam est excusatione adversus eos quos invitus
offendas quacumque possis, quare id quod feceris necesse
fuerit nec aliter facere potueris, ceterisque operis et
officiis erit id quod violatum videbitur compensandum.

Cic. ad Fam. 16.10.2:

Pompeius erat apud me cum haec scribebam, hilare et
lubenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia
mea muta esse. Tu musis nostris para ut operas reddas:
nostra ad diem dictam fient.

(Cicero writes to Tiro, who, as his freedman and amanuen-
sis, owes him operae).

Martial uses opera in the same sense; 3.46:

Exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam:

Non eo, libertum sed tibi mitto meum.

For this sense of operae, the commonest legal sense, see, inter alia,
Just. Codex 6.2.3 passim.

Such, then, is the variety of meanings which operae can have.
(Operae used of persons hired has been omitted). If we look at
expressions like operas dare, tradere, reddere, edere, praebere, we
find that they can have the same variety of meanings: of a prostitute
doing her job:

Pl. Bacch. 45

Of a craftsman doing the same:

Apul. Met. 9.5.1

Sen. Ep. 29.6

Of soldiers:

Sen. Prov. 1.2.10

1.5.1

Of patron/client duties:

Ter. Phorm. 266-7

Cic. ad fam. 16.10. 2

Of publicani:

Cic. Verr. 2.171

ad fam. 13.65. 1

ad Att. 11.10.1

Of participants in shows:

Suet. Aug. 45

Cal. 58

Tib. 35 (operam)

Ner. 12 (operam)

It is in this last sense that Hedymeles dat operas. He is a musician under contract, vocem vendentis, and he practises his profession. To this general rule that operas dare, etc. is used of someone doing what he has an obligation to do, what his profession or trade demands, the only exception appears to be Lucr. 4.973-5:

et quicumque dies multos ex ordine ludis
assiduas dederunt operas, plerumque videmus
cum iam destiterunt ...

where the expression is used apparently of the spectator, and as synonymous with operam dare (see edd. ad loc.). In connection with shows we would expect operas dare to be used of someone, like Hedymeles here, exercising his profession, i.e., taking part in the show. The context rules out this possibility in the present case: Lucretius is clearly talking of someone watching, not performing. Since, however, hired claqueurs accompanied theatrical troupes, and since such claqueurs were called operae (see Tac.Ann. 1.16, and for claqueurs in general Suet. Ner. 16, 26. Tib. 37, Plin. Ep. 7.24.7, Tac. Ann. 13.25), and seem already to have existed in the time of

Plautus (cf. Amph. 69-74), Lucretius may be talking about such hired claqueurs. This sense of operas dare would fit in with the others.

quaedam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis Appi	385
et farre et uino Ianum Vestamque rogabat,	386
an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum	387
sperare et fidibus promittere. quid faceret plus	388
aegrotante uiro, medicis quid tristibus erga	389
filiolum? stetit ante aram nec turpe putauit	390
pro cithara uelare caput dictataque uerba	391
pertulit, ut mos est, et aperta palluit agna.	392
dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, antiquissime diuom,	393
respondes his, Iane pater? magna otia caeli;	394
non est, quod uideo, non est quod agatur apud uos.	395
haec de comoedis te consulit, illa tragoedum	396
commendare uolet: uaricosus fiet haruspex.	397

Juvenal now gives an exemplum to illustrate the excessive fondness of women for musicians. The musician is Pollio, (see Duff, Friedlaender), the woman is descended from two noble families, the Lamiae and the Claudii. (See Friedlaender).

The first sentence describes the basic situation. The satirist creates an atmosphere of solemnity: farre et vino, sacral objects; Ianum Vestamque, the first and last divinities invoked in sacrifices, (see Cic. N.D. 2.67, Ov. Fast. 1.171-2, Macr. Sat. 1.9.9); the majesty of the Capitol and the poetic 'part for whole' construction; but this build-up of solemnity leads not to a climax, but to an anti-climax in fidibus promittere: all this for the sake of a lyre, an instrument. The preposterousness of the woman is brought out in the style of the introductory sentence.

Then comes an indignant double interrogation, quid faceret plus ... filiolum, in which the anaphora and asyndeton reflect indignation, and the diminutive in enjambement

tristibus erga

filiolum

reflects compassion for the young child. By putting so much emphasis on the doctors, however, medicis tristibus in the second part of the question corresponding to aegrotante viro in the first, the satirist introduces a note of flippancy which undercuts the indignation and the compassion. The emphasis is put on a secondary detail, the grim faces of the doctors: "What more would she do if her husband were ill, what, if the doctors grim for her darling son?".

The question, quid faceret plus ... leads to the description of what the woman did do: she performed all the sacred rites: she stood before the altar, veiled her head, (for this part of the ritual of sacrifice, see Plut. QR. 10, Macr. Sat. 3.6.17, V. A. 3.405, and Serv. ad loc.; Festus p. 432 (Lindsay)= 322M; Liv. 10. 7. 10; Macr. S. 1.8. 2) repeated the ritual formula, (for this see Plin. NH. 28.11, Val. Max. 4. 1.10, cf. S. H. A. Max. et Balb. 17.8), in all this following ancient practice, ut mos est; the victim was cut open, and, now comes the typically Juvenalian climax, the woman grew pale: aperta palluit agna is the flippant crowning of the sacrificial congeries.

After describing in flippant terms the ritual and sacrifice, Juvenal addresses himself to Janus and asks him earnestly dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, ... , whether he listens to such prayers. The satirist, assuming a positive answer to his question, follows it with an Epicurean joke: magna otia caeli; the Epicureans believed that the gods lived a life of complete leisure, that they could feel neither anger nor gratitude, that they did not interfere in any way in human affairs, and that it was therefore pointless for men to try and win their favour or avert their anger by means of ritual, prayer, and sacrifice. Juvenal stands the Epicurean argument on its head: this woman prays and sacrifices to the gods, carefully observing the

ritual, in order to win petty favours for a musician; Janus responds to such prayers; therefore the gods must lead a life of great leisure. The conclusion is Epicurean, the method of argumentation satirical, as the Epicurean conclusion is reached by unepicurean arguments.

The Epicurean joke is then capped in the next verse by another Epicurean joke:

non est, quod video, non est quod agatur apud vos.

The line has a double meaning:

(a) Synonymous with magna otia caeli, it means "you gods have nothing to do".

(b) Helped by the Epicurean reference, the audience are meant to follow the Epicurean train of thought: "The gods live at ease, therefore prayer and sacrifice are unnecessary",

and so to see the second meaning of non est ... vos, which is "Nothing (i.e. no prayer or sacrifice) has to be done (i.e. performed) in your presence, in your temples". The subjunctive of agatur then expresses obligation. Cf. Lucr. 5. 1198-1203:

Nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri
vertier ad lapidem atque omnis accedere ad aras
nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas
ante deum delubra, nec aras sanguine multo
spargere quadrupedum, nec votis nectere vota,
sed mage pacata posse omnia mente tueri.

where what is said not to be pietas is closely similar to what the woman does in Juvenal. So, by a verbal and intellectual twist, Juvenal reaches the same conclusion as the Epicureans, that prayer and sacrifice are unnecessary; his argumentation is not, of course, meant to be taken seriously, but to delight a keen and responsive audience with the author's verbal dexterity; the argument is as follows:

This woman makes sacrifices to the gods and asks them for petty favours; Janus finds time to pay attention to such actions; so the gods must have plenty of leisure; but since they are at leisure, i.e. since non est quod agatur apud eos in sense (a), by a play on words, there is no need for us to sacrifice to them, i.e. non est quod agatur apud eos in sense (b). (For another pun on the many possible meanings of agere see M. 1.79).

Line 395, then, in its first meaning a paraphrase of magna otia caeli, by its second meaning twists the argument one step further, and ends the section on a pun. (By 'the section' here, I mean the direct address to Janus and the gods in general). If fully understood, therefore, and taken in the right spirit, i.e. as a Juvenalian pun, 395 is unexceptionable. I cannot agree with Nisbet (JRS 52 (1962) 238), that it is expendable.

Juvenal ends the section on the devotee of Pollio with a humorous two-line epigram which consists

(1) of a protasis which widens the field to include comic and tragic actors in addition to lyre players; the activity of the artist-lovers is brought out by haec ... illa which suggests an infinite number, and by the asyndetic construction.

(2) of an apodosis, a lapidary three-word conclusion, the result of the frenzied activity described in (1): the priest will get varicose veins. The sacral word haruspex clashes humorously with the prosaic varicosus. The onomatopoea reinforces the comic effect:

var / har

us / us

c / x

For the swelling of veins caused by too much walking, cf. Plautus, Ep.

669-70:

alium tibi te comitem meliust quaerere; ita, dum te sequor
lassitudine invaserunt misero in genua flemina.

Macr. Sat. 2.3.5:

ulcisci autem se Cicero videbatur, ut qui respondisse
sibi Vatinius meminerat, cum umeris se reipublicae de
exilio reportatum gloriaretur, "unde ergo tibi varices".

sed cantet potius quam totam peruolet urbem	398
audax et coetus possit quae ferre uirorum	399
cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito	400
ipsa loqui recta facie siccisque mamillis.	401

After the woman who is mad on artistes, we come to the bold woman and busybody whose peculiar characteristic, dealt with in 398-401, is her boldness in keeping male company and joining in conversations on male topics, like war.

The first line is an obvious transition:

sed cantet potius / quam totam pervolet urbem

the first half looking back to the last topic which had been brought together by the two-line recapitulation of 396-7, the second half to the present topic, and introduces the theme of the busybody, the woman who totam pervolat urbem. Then in 399-401 the first specific point, the woman's delight in male company and male conversation is described: it is described by means of an adjective and an adjectival clause joined together by et: audax et coetus possit quae ... mamillis. coetus possit ... mamillis is an adjectival clause syntactically co-ordinate with audax. The woman is bold, (audax), she takes her place fearlessly in male company, (coetus ... virorum), and joins in military talk, (cumque ... loqui).

Judging from their translations, Ramsay and P. Green seem to misunderstand the significance of praesente marito:

Ramsay:

Better, however, that your wife should be musical than that she should be rushing boldly about the entire city, attending men's meetings, talking with unflinching face and hard breasts to Generals in their military cloaks, with their husbands looking on!

Green:

Yet a musical wife's not so bad as some presumptuous
Flat-chested busybody who rushes around the town
Gate-crashing all-male meetings, talking back straight-faced
To a uniformed general - and in her husband's presence.

By putting it last, they imply that it is the culmination of the woman's shamelessness that she should be doing all this in her husband's presence, as though her boldness would be the less if her husband were not there. I can find no justification for this emphatic interpretation of praesente marito. Rather it is there

(1) to help the audience imagine the mise-en-scène: this is a male gathering where the talk is going to be about warfare; the busybody's husband is invited; (perhaps he is one of the ducibus); she joins him out of fondness for such conversation, though other more feminine women would have avoided such an uncongenial gathering. But the point is that praesente marito explains the woman's presence at the gathering. Moreover, (2), praesente marito is in opposition to ipsa loqui. This is artistically the more important function of praesente marito. The husband is in a syntactically inferior position: the syntactical position reflects the actual position of the husband and the wife: the husband is merely present: it is the wife who speaks. On the subject of war, where we would expect the man to speak, the woman to be quiet, it is the woman who speaks, the man who says nothing.

The section ends with a description of the woman who takes part in all this activity recta facie siccisque mamillis. This is clearly meant to describe the absence of fear. Cf. 10.189:

hoc recto voltu solum hoc et pallidus optas

where recto voltu and pallidus are in antithesis, and describe the latter the fear of the man amibus at the prospect of imminent death,

the former the confidence of the man who has no reason to fear that his death is near. For recta facie and such expressions to describe absence of emotion, cf. Sen. Ep. 104.24

de Const. 5.5

Ep. 76.33

Stat. Theb. 10.542

Suet. Aug. 16

Q. 9. 3. 101

and see L & S s.v. rectus.

But while recta facie can readily be explained, siccis mamillis is more difficult. Friedlaender explains that in spite of the excitement, the woman's skin remains dry. Ramsay translates 'hard breasts'; Green 'flat-chested'; Knoche 'Rede sie stehe mit frechem Gesicht, statt Kinder zu nähren'.

I think the expression is to be explained as containing a para prosdokian in mamillis. We judge from the general drift and from recta facie that recta ... mamillis is meant to indicate absence of fear or any strong emotion. Now, one of the commonest symptoms of emotion of any sort is crying. Fear causes tears in Ovid, Met. 11.539:

non tenet hic lacrimas, stupet hic ...

Prop. 3. 7.55:

flens tamen extremis dedit haec mandata querelis

Hor. O. 1. 3. 17-20:

quem mortis timuit gradum

qui siccis oculis monstra natantia

qui vidit mare turbidum et

infamis scopulos Acroceraunia?

If we compare with this last passage Hor. O. 3.27. 25-8:

sic et Europe niveum doloso
 credittauro latus et scatentem
 beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
 palluit audax.

we find that Europe in a similar situation pallet. Looking now again
 at J. 10.189

hoc recto vultu solum hoc et pallidus optas

we see that pallidus is in antithesis to recto vultu. But we saw in
 Horace that pallet and crying are found in similar circumstances and
 so equivalent in that they express fear. Cf. Hor. Epod. 10.15:

O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis
 tibiue pallor luteus
 et illa non virilis eiulatio
 preces et aversum ad Iovem.

Homer, Il. 13. 88-9:

τοὺς οἱ γ' εἰσορόωντες ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυα λείπον.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔφην φεύξεσθαι ὑπὲρ κακοῦ.

Caes. Gall. 1. 39.4

neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere
 poterant.

So, in our passage, in a context where lack of emotion is expected, I
 submit that after hearing recta facie siccisque ... the audience would
 complete the sentence mentally with a word indicating tearlessness,
oculis, genis, luminibus. They would of course be helped on their
 way by the fact that locutions containing siccus are often used to
 indicate tearlessness, cf.

Luc. 9. 1043

Sen. Tranq. 15. 6

Prop. 1.17.11

Ov. Trist. 1.1.28

M. 12. 3.16

1. 78. 3

1. 92. 1

10. 80. 5

Ov. Her. 11. 10

Q. 6. 2. 27

Tib. 1. 1. 66

Prop. 4. 11. 80

Sen. Herc. Oet. 1269.

But instead of oculis or a synonym comes mamillis; and by this para prosdokian the satirist makes his point strikingly: the woman's manliness has been emphasized by audax, coetus ... virorum, cumque paludatis ... loqui and the implications of praesente marito ipsa loqui (as explained above). Now, in para prosdokian, comes the last detail indicating conclusively her manliness: her breasts are dry. Mamillis is effective rhetorically and visually. When they least expect it, the audience have a picture of the woman's breasts flashed before them; and they are dry. In other words, I agree that ultimately siccis mamillis indicates that the woman is manly, in that her breasts are dry, like a man's. But the important point is that mamillis comes para prosdokian when we are expecting something else.

haec eadem nouit quid toto fiat in orbe,	402
quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta nouercae	403
et pueri, quis amet, quis diripiatur adulter;	404
dicet quis uiduam praegnatem fecerit et quo	405
mense, quibus uerbis concumbat quaeque, modis quot.	406
instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen	407
prima uidet, famam rumoresque illa recentis	408
excipit ad portas, quosdam facit; isse Niphaten	409
in populos magnoque illic cuncta arua teneri	410
diluuiio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras,	411
quocumque in triuiio, cuicumque est obuia, narrat.	412

In 402-12 is described a busybody and gossip-monger. In 399-401, the subject is a bold woman who is not abashed by all-male gatherings. In 402-12, a gossip-monger who knows the intimate details of life in Rome as well as major events in distant parts of the world. Eadem makes those two characters into one, and this union of two characters in one person provides an easy transition from 401-2. (Cf. the note to 38-44 for the same device with Ursidius). Here, however, Juvenal has fused the two passages together by means of totam pervolat urbem in 398 which anticipates the activities of the gossip-monger, and is in fact much more evidently applicable to her than to the bold woman of 399-401. The theme is treated in four sections: haec eadem ... adulter, dicet quis ... modis quot, instantem regi ... quosdam facit, isse Niphaten ... narrat. Throughout the paragraph the satirist keeps up the raciness imitative of the gossip's endless chattering by means of asyndeton and anaphora.

The first section, (haec eadem ... adulter), containing one main verb, novit, is made up of two tricola, the first emphasizing how widespread the gossip's field of information is: toto orbe, Seres, Thraces; the first colon makes the general statement, the second and

third give particular examples, the Seres and Thracians, peoples of the far east and far north respectively. The three cola are in asyndeton, and quid is repeated in all three, in anaphora in the second and third; agant is common to the second and third. The second tricolon, secreta ... adulter, is about gossip of an amatory nature; there is asyndeton between it and the first tricolon, and between its own three cola; there is anaphora of quis in the second and third cola, while secreta ... pueri breaks up the series of five indirect interrogatives, introducing an element of variatio; adulter is common to the second and third cola.

The second section is made up of one main verb, dicet, on which depend two double indirect interrogatives, quis ... fecerit ... quomense, quibus verbis ... concubat ... modis quot. The element of variatio is provided by the fact that the first pair of indirect interrogations is joined by et, while the second are in asyndeton. The asyndeton also has the effect of leaving the salacious detail, modis quot, isolated as a humorous ending to the section. The second section is in asyndeton with the first.

The third section, in asyndeton with the second, is a descending tricolon. There is asyndeton between the three cola. The first colon is long and awe-inspiring, the second is long and describes eager activity, the third, two words long, surprises by its brevity, making more pointed the sarcastic ending, quosdam facit.

The last section, in asyndeton with the third, starts with three infinitival phrases having the infinitive as the first word in the phrase, isse ... diluvio, nutare ..., subsidere; of these the first is complex, (i.e. it contains in fact two co-ordinate infinitival phrases joined by -que), and its length and complexity are meant to reflect the greatness of the calamity, which is also emphasized by the

words themselves: the mysterious Niphates, in populos, magno ... diluvio, cuncta arva, teneri. This long and complex and impressive first colon is then followed by two 2-word infinitival phrases, and then by two other short cola containing isocolon, (six syllables each), and echoes, (quocumque/cuicumque, trivio/obvia). Those four short cola, racy on account of the asyndeton, the repetition of syntactical patterns (inf. + noun, inf. + noun) in the first two cola, and of sounds in the last two cola, added to the impressive description of the first colon, isse ... diluvio, make a weighty build-up: all this the woman relates. The main verb on its own, narrat, comes at the end of the long sentence, its bare presence contrasted with the long-windedness of what precedes and thus emphasizing its meaning, the inexhaustible supply of tales of the news-monger.

405. viduam. unmarried woman. See on 140.

404. diripiatur. i.e. is so popular that women snatch him here and there. See Friedlaender and TLL s.v. diripio, I B 1. Juvenal uses this word here in contrast with amet for humorous effect. The mind expects the normal polar expressions: 'quis amet, quis ametur adulter' or 'quis amet, quis non amet adulter'. But instead comes 'quis amet, quis diripiatur adulter'. This change from the expected norm implies that the women are activated by no feelings beyond pure lust, (i.e. non amatur sed diripitur), and that even the adulterer who is not attracted by the women in question is bodily forced by them to satisfy their desires, (i.e. non amat, diripitur tamen). The same sort of contrast between men who love and women who lust, and between adulterers who love and adulterers who do not love, is found in 10. 318-22:

sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter
 matronae. mox cum dederit Servilia nummos
 fiet et illius quam non amat, exuet omnem
 corporis ornatum; quid enim ulla negaverit udis
 inguinibus, sive est **haec** Oppia sive Catulla?

and the same witticism on the implied difference between amare and diripere is found in M. 7.76:

Quod te diripiunt potentiores
 per convivia, porticus, theatra
 et tecum, quotiens ita incidisti,
 gestari iuvat et iuvat lavari
 nolito nimium tibi placere:
 delectas, Philomuse, non amaris.

Secreta. in the erotic sense. See note to 190, and to 133-4.

nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile quam quod	413
uicinos humiles rapere et concidere loris	414
+exortata+ solet. nam si latratibus alti	415
rumpuntur somni, 'fustes huc ocius' inquit	416
'adferte' atque illis dominum iubet ante feriri,	417
deinde canem.	418

In 413-18 we have done with the busybody and we pass on to the bad-tempered woman who punishes her neighbours cruelly for the slightest offences.

Should the last word of 413 be quod or quae? Housman's (I) arguments for quod are unconvincing: what is described in 413-8 is not peculiarly characteristic of somebody who is audax; nor can I agree with him that when we read that the woman balnea nocte subit we feel we should be told what she has been doing during the day. (Note that Housman's demum is unfair). The argument for quod falls to the ground. For quae it can be said that a phrase equivalent to "the last vice I talked about is not as bad as the one I am going to talk about" is a formula of transition which Juvenal uses three times in succession here:

sed cantet potius quam totam pervolet urbem 399

nec tamen id vitium magis intolerabile quam ^{quod}_{quae} 413

illa tamen gravior quae cum discumbere coepit 434

and in the first and third cases it makes a clear transition from one kind of vice to another. The formula is used by Juvenal as a ready-made device to help him pass from the one to the other of two unconnected vices. It is more likely, therefore, that it is being used here too in the same way, and quae is more probable than quod. If we read quod, we make Juvenal use two links, viz. (a) the 'personal'

link whereby one person unites two characteristics within himself which are dealt with in turn by the satirist, the 'person' thus providing the link, e.g. Ursidius in 38-44, eadem in 402; (b) the 'comparative' link (e.g. 399, 434), one of which is superfluous.

To this may be added that quae has better MS. authority and that quae is more likely to have been altered to quod, which gives an apparently more regular construction, (i.e. a noun clause describing a vitium, quod ... solet, compared to a vitium, rather than a relative clause describing a person, quae ... solet, compared to a vitium), than vice-versa.

413-5 ... solet introduces the section on the irascible woman. 415 nam si... -418 ... canem give an instance exemplifying the theme set out in the introduction. The example is in the form of a narrative enlivened by the direct address 'fustes ... adferte'. The satirist wants to make the point that the woman's pleasure is to have people beaten up, and he makes it by means of a light-hearted device: the first thought of the woman, angry at being woken up by the barking dog, is to have its owner beaten up: anybody else's first movement of anger would be directed at the dog; but not hers. Beating the dog comes as an afterthought to her. Anybody else's anger would be appeased once the owner had been chastised; but her anger is insatiable; after the owner, the dog has to be chastised too. All this the satirist expresses economically and humorously by dominum ante feriri, deinde canem, and by the enjambement

dominum iubet ante feriri

deinde canem.

ante ... deinde expressing both the thoroughness of her punishment and the perverted nature of her anger, and the enjambement emphasizing the latter.

exortata. Friedlaender adopts the reading exorata and follows Lewis' interpretation of it. Knoche (IV) keeps exortata, taking it to mean experrecta. (See Gnomon 9 (1933) 249-50). Friedlaender's and Knoche's explanations of the passage have this in common that the beating with fustes, described in the second part of the paragraph, is taken to be a dangerous and hard punishment contrasted with concidere loris in the first part, which is taken to be a milder form of punishment. The woman, when appeased according to Friedlaender, when she wakes up every morning according to Knoche, has her neighbours beaten with loris. But if she is really angry, if for example her sleep is disturbed by barking, she has them beaten with fustes. Such a contrast between fustes and lora cannot be derived from the passage. To beat somebody with fustes is not necessarily more painful or more dangerous than beating him with lora, and to refer to the fustuarium supplicium of the army proves nothing about our passage. Moreover, nam indicates that the second part of the section is explanatory of the first, not in antithesis to it.

Knoche's exortata is a suspicious word, and the evidence for the existence of such a word is not convincing. (See TLL s.v. exortor). Clausen's daggers are justified. Duff's experrecta though near in meaning to rumpuntur somni may be right.

gravis occursu, taeterrima vultu	418
balnea nocte subit, conchas et castra moueri	419
nocte iubet, magno gaudet sudare tumultu,	420
cum lassata graui ceciderunt brachia massa,	421
callidus et cristae digitos inpressit aliptes	422
ac summum dominae femur exclamare coegit.	423

Clausen's punctuation of 418, with a full-stop after canem is undoubtedly right. Friedlaender and Knoche punctuate with a full-stop after vultu. This is unsatisfactory for two reasons:

- (a) It spoils the sharpness of the preceding paragraph, which depends on the ending

dominum ante feriri

deinde canem.

as explained above, p. 334.

- (b) By attaching gravis ... vultu to the preceding paragraph, 419-23 is left without a link. Friedlaender refers to 379 for a similar absence of link, but see my note on that passage.

With Clausen's punctuation, deinde canem has its full force, at the end of the paragraph, and gravis ... vultu is the link between the irascible woman and the woman-athlete. Friedlaender rightly points out that the description offered by the four words gravis ... vultu fits the irascible woman, the subject of 413-8. Juvenal is here again using the 'personal' link. (See p.329). The two characters, the irascible woman and the woman-athlete are united in one person, and gravis ... vultu harks back to the first character and leads us into the section about the second. The unity of person is more firmly established by the fact that the paragraph does not end at the end of a line, while the duality of character is imitated by the break of the caesura:

deinde canem / gravis occursu taeterrima vultu
balnea nocte subit.

The woman's contempt for other people, exemplified by the treatment of the neighbours in the preceding paragraph, also features in this section: she goes to the baths at night, creating a noisy disturbance, and keeping her guests waiting for dinner.

In 418-23, the main point is the noise which attends her expedition to the baths. Night is emphasized because it is the time of quiet, and it is the time which the woman chooses to start her noisy activities: it is emphasized by the repetition nocte subit, nocte iubet, cf. Sen. Ep. 122.9:

Cum instituerunt omnia contra naturae consuetudinem
velle, novissime in totum ab illa desciscunt. Lucet:
somni tempus est. Quies est: nunc exerceamur, nunc
gestemur, nunc prandeamus. Iam lux propius accedit:
tempus est cenae.

The noise itself is described in conchas et castra moveri; the addition of conchas to the general military expression castra moveri giving the impression of an expedition on a large scale, larger than usual, the repetition of c and as sounds in conchas et castra reinforcing the effect. The juxtaposition of the general and the specific creates a quaint and striking expression.

Noise is also the point of magno gaudet sudare tumultu: to this phrase sudare gives a paradoxical flavour. Sudare is a normal function of the body involving no noise. But the noise-loving athlete even sweats noisily. Juvenal's language is deliberately flippant. The expression humorous.

Magno tumultu is then enlarged upon by a cum-clause in two parts: cum lassata ... massa; callidus et ... coegit. The first part refers

to the noise made by exercising with weights, cf. Sen. Ep. 56.1 quoted below. The heroic efforts of the woman as she exercises with the weights is expressed in a heroic line on the V A B B A pattern. (See Appendix IA, example 406.

cum lassata gravi ceciderunt bracchia massa.

The second part of the cum-clause indicates the noise made by the masseur's hands over the woman's body, or so it seems at first glance; the passage usually referred to is Sen. Ep. 56.1:

Propone nunc tibi omnia genera vocum quae in odium
possunt aures adducere: cum fortiores exercentur et
manus plumbo graves iactant, cum aut laborant aut
laborantem imitantur, gemitus audio, quotiens
retentum spiritum remiserunt, sibilos et acerbissimas
respirationes; cum in aliquem inertem et hac plebeia
unctione contentum incidi, audio crepitum inlisae
manus umeris, quae prout plana pervenit aut concava,
ita sonum mutat.

But Juvenal's point is not straightforward like Seneca's; 422-3 contain a joke which depends on the solution in 423 of a puzzle set by the satirist in 422. The puzzle is in cristae. Juvenal's listener, like us, must have been puzzled by this word. Crista is something found on top of something, a cock's comb, a bird's crest, the crest of a helmet, etc. See TLL s.v. crista. The listener, at the end of 422, must have asked himself exactly what was meant by crista here. The answer is then given in 423, in the ac-clause, which describes the consequence of 422: crista, we saw above, is a decorative object on top of something; the listener sees the explanation coming in ac summum dominae ..., and it comes in femur: the audience, asking themselves what the tuft-like ornament at the top of the woman's leg

was, (summum femur), would not need to be told that the satirist was referring to the woman's pubic hair. The resemblance between the pubic hair and the objects usually meant by crista, especially the tuft of feathers of a bird's crest, the crest of a helmet, is visually striking enough to discount all possible reference to the clitoris favoured by scholars (from Rigault to Knoche) and lexicographers (L & S, TLL, Ernout-Meillet, OLD). This passage of Juvenal is the only one used as evidence for such a meaning of crista.

Seneca's masseur made a noise by striking with his hands on his customer's shoulders. The hands of Juvenal's masseur go up the woman's leg, right to the top, and presses on the crista making it exclamare. Exclamare, as editors point out, (e.g. Friedlaender), can be used of inanimate objects to mean 'to make a noise', and this is apparently the meaning here, supported by the passage of Seneca quoted above. But since Juvenal has so cleverly, as outlined above, drawn our attention to the sphere where the masseur exercises his calliditas, he no doubt means us to think of the literal meaning 'to cry out', intending the same witticism as Martial 7.18: the masseur's hand makes the woman's cunus do what Galla's does mixtis inguinibus:

Cum tibi sit facies de qua nec femina possit
dicere, cum corpus nulla litura notet,
cur te tam rarus cupiat repetatque fututor
miraris? Vitium est non leve, Galla, tibi.
accessi quotiens ad opus mixtisque movemur
inguinibus, cunus non tacet, ipsa taces.
di facerent ut tu loquereris et ille taceret:
offendor cunni garrulitate tui.
pedere te mallet: namque hoc nec inutile dicit
Symmachus, et risum res movet ista simul.

quis ridere potest fatui poppysmata cunni?

cum sonat hic, cui non mentula mensque cadit?

Dic aliquid saltem clamosoque obstrepe cunno

et si adeo muta es, disce vel inde loqui.

The noise of Seneca's massage is thus transformed into the noise of the cunus crying out under the masseur's hand.

The bearing of the epigram of Martial on this passage was first pointed out, so far as I know, in 1616 by Rigault in his edition of Juvenal.

Since the noise and bustle attending the activities of the woman-athlete is the main point of the section, it is important that the sense and syntax of magno ... coegit should be understood properly: the woman sweats as a consequence of magno tumultu, and the cum-clause describes the magno tumultu; it is a temporal clause describing regularly repeated action; the woman sweats when her arms have fallen and when the masseur has pressed and forced. The falling of the arms, the pressing and the forcing of the masseur precede the sweating, whence the perfect tense of the cum-clause. A glance at three translations will show that it is not understood by all that cum ... coegit defines magno tumultu.

Labriolle et Villeneuve:

Elle aime à suer à grand fracas. Quand les bras lui tombent, épuisés par la lourdeur des poids, le masseur, un dégourdi, lui appuie les doigts à l'endroit sensible et lui fait craquer le haut de la cuisse.

Ramsay:

She loves all the bustle of the hot bath; when her arms drop exhausted by the heavy weights, the anointer passes his hand skilfully over her body, bringing it down at

last with a resounding smack upon her thigh.

P. Green:

First she works out
With the weights and dumb-bells. Then, when her arms
are aching,
The masseur takes over, craftily slipping one hand
Along her thigh, and tickling her up till she comes.
Lastly she makes for the sweat-room. She loves to sit
there
Amid all the hubbub, perspiring.

Balnea nocte subit.

Friedlaender asserts that the balnea must be private baths here, because the public baths closed at sunset. But although the evidence (S.H.A. Alex.Sev. 24, Tacit. 10), does tend to indicate that this was generally the case, it is not very strong and there is no reason why this custom should have been rigidly observed. Friedlaender himself refers to CIL 2. 5181 which refers to a public bath being open after sunset. The context here seems to require that the baths be public: (a), the woman's forbidding and frightening face as she goes to the baths is rather pointless if she is not venturing outside her own grounds. (b), the clatter of the expedition, conchas et castra moveri, is difficult to explain and also pointless. (c), the obvious subject of the section is the noise she makes, (see above), and to be blame-worthy the noise must disturb other people. Moreover, it is required that the woman should go to the baths at an unusual time, and the satirist must be allowed some exaggeration. I think that without clear indications to the contrary the audience would imagine the setting to be the public baths, especially since those establishments are so often the scene of sexual misdemeanour in popular thought and

literature. Cf. Plin. NH. 33.153.

Quint. 5. 9. 14

Mart. 3.51

3.72

7.35

11.47.

concha. a vessel, shell-shaped, used in the baths. See TLL
s.v. II.1. vas ad conchae formam fictum, ... aquarium. ll. 61-71.

conuiuiae miseri interea somnoque fameque	424
urguentur. tandem illa uenit rubicundula, totum	425
oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna	426
admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter	427
ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturum orexim,	428
dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.	429

convivae ... urguentur introduces in the description of the drinking bout (the main subject of 424-9) the woman's contempt for other people which is, as we saw above, the characteristic which joins together the irascible woman of 413-8 and the woman-athlete of 418-33. After this the guests are completely forgotten, and the satirist concentrates on the woman's drinking.

In 418-23, the subject was the noisy exercising. In 424-33, the result of the exercises, the unquenchable thirst, used as a means of exciting the woman's appetite. A close parallel is Philaenis in Martial 7.67. 4-12:

Harpasto quoque subligata ludit
et flavescit happe, gravesque draucis
halteras facili rotat lacerto,
et putri lutulenta de palaestra
uncti verbere vapulat magistri:
nec cenat prius aut recumbit ante
quam septem vomuit meros deunces.
ad quos fas sibi tunc putat reverti
cum coloephia sedecim comedit.

The narrative in 424-7 is built up to emphasize her thirst and the quantity she drinks: she arrives at table red with heat, rubicundula, she thirsts for the whole wine-container, totum ... sitiens, the container contains a whole urn of wine, plena ... urna, it is close

to her, ready for use, admotum pedibus, and she drinks from it two sextarii. (ducere = to drink deep, see L & S).

Then in 428-9, clashing with this long description of drinking, the point of it all: to wash out the intestines and make the woman hungry:

rabidam facturum orexim

dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.

The despicable use to which wine is put is indicated by the syntactical shape of the sentence: the main action comes with the last main verb, terram ferit. The woman only drinks so as to vomit. The wine goes through her body, but the main point of drinking it was that it should strike the ground; and on its way to the ground, it has performed the function that was expected of it: it has washed out the intestines. Loto terram ferit intestino is then the ironical concluding sententia. Juvenal makes wittily, by means of his syntactical and verbal manipulation, the point made seriously by Pliny, NH. 14.139:

Cautissimos ex iis in balineis coqui videmus exanimesque
efferri iam vero alios lectum expectare non posse, immo
vero nec tunicam, nudosque ibi protinus et anhelos
ingentia vasa corripere, velut ad ostentationem virium,
ac plena infundere, ut statim vomant rursusque hauriant,
idque iterum tertiumque, tamquam ad perdenda vina geniti
et tamquam effundi illa non possint nisi per corpus
humanum. Huc pertinent peregrinae exercitationes et
volutatio in caeno ac pectorosa cervicis repandae
ostentatio.

The habit of exercising to excite thirst, and drinking to excite hunger, an excess of luxury, is connected by Pliny above, and by Columella 1. pr. 16 with foreign influence, presumably Greek. Columella talks of

the great days of Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Curius Dentatus, the days when agriculture was honoured, and contrasts it with his own day when

ut apti veniamus ad ganeas, cotidianam cruditatem

Laconicis excoquimus et exusto sudore sitim quaerimus ...

At mehercules vera illa Romuli proles ...

We also saw above (267-97, as rearranged) that women's exercise at the palus was associated with the corrupting influence of Greek luxury. Although he never mentions this openly here, Juvenal has foreign Greek luxury in mind. He uses Greek words, oenophorum, orexim, and his concluding sententia ends with a Grecising spondaic ending: terram ferit intestino. (For this see Appendix IA, example 279).

For another passage where the same tricks of style are used to associate luxury with foreign influence, cf. 11.100-34, where Juvenal is praising in his usual ironical manner the days when the Roman was

rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes,

the days when luxury was unknown in Rome. Whereas now it is luxurious furniture and table-ware that makes a Roman hungry

hinc surgit orexis, 127

hinc stomacho vires; nam pes argenteus illis

anulus in digito quod ferreus. ergo superbum

convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat et res

despiciit exiguas. adeo nulla uncia nobis

est eboris, nec tessellae nec calculus ex hac

materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum 133

ossea ...

where orexis again points to a Greek vice, and the spondaic ending cultellorum mimics the tone of the Frugal Roman for whom these cultellorum are the height of luxury. See Appendix IA, example 438.

marmoribus riui properant, aurata Falernum	430
peluis olet; nam sic, tamquam alta in dolia longus	431
deciderit serpens, bibit et uomit. ergo maritus	432
nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis.	433

The section on the woman-athlete is rounded off in four lines. First, the woman's sickness is described in horrifying detail, the sordidness heightened by the luxury, (marmoribus, aurata, Falernum); then made the subject of a vivid and humorous comparison, (tamquam ... serpens), ending with the straightforward bibit et vomit, which suggests that this is normal behaviour for her, that she thinks nothing of it. Then, for the closing tableau, the husband's reaction is described: he feels nausea and covers his eyes to stop himself from vomiting, oculis bilem substringit opertis.

Although some editors, e.g. Prateus, have considered the possibility that bilem had to do with sickness, editors down to Ruperti have tended to interpret bilem here as a sign of anger. Ruperti's note runs thus:

iram et indignationem coercet ac reprimi; non
effundit metuens iram imperiosae uxoris.

Friedlaender has no note on this line, and translators translate literally, 'bile', 'bile', 'galle' without committing themselves to an interpretation, though the idiom of the modern language suggests anger in all three cases. Anger is entirely out of place here: the husband feels sick, and in addition to the vomiting of bile in Celsus 1. Praef., 2.3, 2.8, 5.26.10, 4.18, cf. Sen. Prov. 1.3.13:

quanto magis huic (Socrates) invidendum est quam illis
quibus gemma ministratur, quibus exoletus omnia pati
doctus exsectae virilitatis aut dubiae suspensam auro
nivem diluit? hi, quicquid biberunt, vomitu remetiuntur

tristes et bilem suam regustantes ...

Sen. Ep. 53.3:

peius autem vexabar quam ut mihi periculum succurreret;
nausea enim me segnis haec et sine exitu torquebat,
quae bilem movet nec effundit.

TLL. tentatively suggests that Juvenal might be referring to 'taedium'.

The stylistic point of the closing tableau is not the one suggested by Ruperti, quoted above, but to contrast the efforts of the husband in controlling his sickness with the wife's shameless, even induced, vomiting.

The juxtaposition of oculis/bilem hints whimsically at a connection between eyes and bile, two unconnected parts of the human body: "by covering his eyes keeps down his bile". The same sort of humour is found in 5.158-60:

ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.

illa tamen grauior, quae cum discumbere coepit	434
laudat Vergilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae,	435
committit uates et comparat, inde Maronem	436
atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.	437

The subject of 434-56 is the tediously learned woman. In 434-7 we have first the half-line link, illa tamen gravior (for which see above pp.333 ff.), then the first example of her excessive learning, her fondness for comparative criticism of the two great epic poets, Virgil and Homer. Juvenal's method in criticising this excess of scholarship is to indulge in it himself, displaying ironically what he censures. Having failed to appreciate the method, scholars have failed to explain those lines properly. First the woman

laudat Vergilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae.

Friedlaender offers two interpretations: "sie findet die Schuld der Dido durch ihren Tod gestöhnt", which Friedlaender declares to be the natural interpretation, and Heinrich's "sie nimmt Virgil in Schutz, dass er die Dido sterben lasst". Duff's note is "and (has) excuses for Dido at death's door", i.e. thinks her sin atoned for by her death". But the interpretation favoured by Friedlaender and followed by Duff is not 'natural'. Juvenal says: "she forgives Elissa about to die", and a learned Roman who knew his Virgil would know what crime "Elissa about to die" had committed for which she needed forgiveness: her curse on Aeneas personally, and, much more serious, her curse upon the Roman race, which was to culminate in the Punic wars and Hannibal. The curse of Dying Dido is a memorable incident of the fourth book of the Aeneid, occupying 607-29. In 610 she appeals to

Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,

and in 621, just before starting her appeal to her descendants, i.e.

Hannibal, she again repeats

haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.

This quasi-historical conceit that Hannibal's enmity towards Rome was a result of Dido's curse and connected with the Dido and Aeneas affair had been revived nearer Juvenal's time in detail in Silius' epic which contains many references to this Virgilian episode. (For a study of this question, see A.J. Gossage, pp. 75-7.) So, when Juvenal makes the bas bleu forgive the dying Elissa, he is making her show off her knowledge of Virgilian and sub-Virgilian literature, and at the same time titillating his audience's own literary interests.

436-7 are usually taken at their face value, as meaning that the woman compares and sets against one another the two epic poets, weighing them in the balance. (See Friedlaender, Duff). But this explanation contains only half the truth. Juvenal is expressing the woman's literary judgements in terms of incidents in the two Epics she is comparing: for, both committere and comparare are used of setting combatants against one another. For committere see TLL I C 2, col.1903. For comparare see OLD, s.v. comparare, and especially Non. p. 390 (Lindsay), Cic. Q.Fr. 3.4.2, Suet. Cal. 35, S.H.A. Maximin. 3.4, Just. 6.2.7, Cic. Quinct. 2 (metaphorically); and in both the Iliad and the Aeneid, before the two protagonists, Achilles and Hector, Aeneas and Turnus, meet for the ultimate combat, their fates are weighed on scales. V.A. 12.725-7, H. Iliad, 22.210-12. When in satire 1 Juvenal refers to the combat between Turnus and Aeneas he uses the verb committere, 1.162-3:

securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem

committas ...

Juvenal's learned audience would realise that Juvenal was criticising by imitation, criticising the woman's learned comparisons of the Epic poets by using in learned fashion for his literary criticism terms reminiscent of Epic combat, and of central episodes of the two epic poems.

cedunt grammatici, uincuntur rhetores, omnis 438
 turba tacet, nec causicus nec praeco loquetur, 439
 altera nec mulier. 440

Juvenal now concentrates on another characteristic of the bas
 bleu, her loquacity. He starts off the section with a triple isocolon:

cedunt grammatici)	
)	
vincuntur rhetores)	6 syllables = 2½ feet
)	
omnis turba tacet)	

with variation (a) in the respective order of subject and verb: verb
 subject, verb subject, subject verb; (b) in the form of the subject
 itself which is a noun on its own in the first two cola, an adjective
 and noun in the third.

This triple isocolon is then followed by a tricolon with
 anaphora of nec and a common verb, loquetur. The displacing of nec
 in the third colon (nec causicus, nec praeco, altera nec), the
 addition of an adjective to the subject (causicus, praeco, altera
mulier), the placing of the verb loquetur in the second colon which
 makes the third sharper, all help to emphasize the humorous anti-
 climax contained in the third colon where altera mulier crowns the
 build-up of grammatici, rhetores, omnis turba, causicus, praeco.

uerborum tanta cadit uis, 440
 tot pariter pelues ac tintinnabula dicas 441
 pulsari. iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget: 442
 una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunae. 443

Still on the subject of the woman's verbosity, a short section leading up to a vivid comparison: the sound of the quantity of falling words is compared to the sound of four noisy objects (pelves tintinnabula tubas aera), and the apodosis suggests in epigrammatic form the use to which she could put her voice: she could on her own help the moon against magic incantations. (For which, see Ruperti, Duff).

The interest of the lines derives from the vivid comparisons with familiar noisy objects, from the assonance, suggesting noise, tot pariter pelues; tintinnabula pulsari; and from the concluding humorous reference to popular superstition.

inponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis;	444
nam quae docta nimis cupit et facunda uideri	445
crure tenuis medio tunicas succingere debet,	446
caedere Siluano porcum, quadrante lavari.	447

After the section on the noisy and unceasing chatter of the bas-bleu, Juvenal's attack on her takes a new course: the woman who is excessively learned is encroaching on men's preserves. The first line is a general observation on the desirability of measure that looks back to the last section and forward to the following. The new theme then divides into a protasis, a relative clause, (445), and an apodosis, (446-7), crure ... debet, caedere ... porcum, quadrante lavari. The tricolon is in descending order, the first occupying a full line, and the last consisting of two words; and it is on those concluding two words that the listener's attention is focused. Editors rightly explain that quadrante lavari means to use the men's public baths. (For a full account see Daremberg, *Saglio s.v. balnea*, p. 652), but they do not fully explain its implications and the stylistic point involved. The presence of women in men's baths had always been deplored by moralists, see Plut. Cato Maior. 20.20, Plin. NH. 33.153, and the habit seems to have spread. Several of Martial's epigrams contain references to the sexual impropriety of women using men's public baths. (3.51, 3.72, 7.35, 11.47, 11.75) as does 419-23 above (see note there). So, while the first two cola are parallel and refer to exclusively male practices, (for the length of the tunic see Q.11.3.143, for the sacrifice to Silvanus see Cato, de agric. 83), the third is an indirect attack on a practice of women which was a favourite target of satirical writers. There is therefore a sting in quadrante lavari which is absent from the first two cola.

This is made to tell by the fact that the expectation created by the two first cola is defeated in the third: the audience expect the descending tricolon to decline softly to a close, instead of which the last and shortest colon is the aggressive one. It attacks the woman as immoral.

non habeat matrona, tibi quae iuncta recumbit,	448
dicendi genus, aut curvum sermone rotato	449
torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes,	450
sed quaedam ex libris et non intellegat.	451

In one sentence, Juvenal describes the kind of detailed technical erudition, acquired by assiduous frequentation of grammaticus and rhetor, which makes a wife unbearable. Her technical knowledge is described in a tricolon, (non habeat ... genus, aut curvum ... enthymema, nec historias ... omnes), against which is set in one colon (sed ... intellegat), the quality which would make her a desirable wife. After the vigorous denunciation of literary furniture in the tricolon, we expect the same anti-intellectual tone to be sustained in the concluding sed-clause. But Juvenal defeats our expectation and so concludes the period on a light-hearted note: he only asks that there be some things that she do not understand also. Quaedam and et are essential to the note of light irony.

For dicendi genus, 'style of speech', see Friedlaender.

For historias, a technical term of the ludus grammaticus where enarratio historiarum, i.e. the explanation of historical and mythological allusions in the text, was part of the duty of the grammaticus, see Friedlaender. For an exaggerated account of what was involved in enarratio historiarum, see 7.231-6.

Enthymema has two main 'technical' meanings. (1), the Aristotelian sense, fully discussed by Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece, pp. 97ff., a method of arguing, a form of proof related to the syllogism. (2), the 'Isocratean' sense, a thought expressed in a well-balanced, artistically constructed period. Senses 1 and 2 are sometimes related. In sense 1, the emphasis is on the method of

arguing. In sense 2, it is on the stylistic and ornamental qualities. Both senses 1 and 2 are present in the examples from Cicero and Demosthenes quoted by Q. 5.14.1, at the beginning of which section Quintilian makes the connection between senses 1 and 2:

Igitur enthymema est argumentum ipsum, id est rem,
quae probationi alterius adhibetur; appellant et
argumenti elocutionem ...

The distinction between the two senses of the word is made by Marx on Lucil. 347. Juvenal's 'curved, round-phrased, enthymema', the emphasis being on the shape of the object, is in all probability the enthymema of sense 2, for which see

Isocr. Panath. 2

Cont. Soph. 16

Antidos. 47

Lucil. 347 (M)

Plin. Ep. 2.3

Q. 8.5.9, where he makes a distinction between the two senses, sense 1, which he has dealt with in Book 5, and sense 2, which he is concerned with in Book 8.

Q. 11.3.102, where Quintilian probably has sense 2 in mind, since the emphasis seems to be on the shape of the phrase, its roundness:

enthymemata sua gestu corrotundant

A. Gell. 17.20.4:

Haec verba ubi lecta sunt (a passage from Plato, Symp.
p. 180E) atque ibi Taurus mihi: "heus, tu, ... videsne
crebrum et coruscum et convexum brevibusque et rotundis
numeris cum quadam aequabili circumactione devinctum?

The 'curved, round-phrased enthymema' hurled by the woman is a stylistic ornament of that sort.

	odi	451
hanc ego quae repetit uoluitque Palaemonis artem		452
seruata semper lege et ratione loquendi		453
ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria uersus		454
nec curanda uiris. opicae castiget amicae		455
uerba: soloecismum liceat fecisse marito.		456

In 451-4, Juvenal continues his attack on the woman's pedantry. He hates the woman who is always going back to and thumbing through her copy of Palaemon's grammatical treatise (for Palaemon see Suet. de gramm. 23), who always follows the rules of correct language, who can defend any word or construction she uses by quoting a parallel from some ancient author. This is the purport of ignotosque mihi ... uersus. The woman is not a particular admirer of the ancient authors' style; this does not fit in with the context; she uses them as models for peculiarities of grammar; this is the subject of the section. For an antiquarius of the same type see A. Gell. 5.21:

'Pluria' forte quis dixit sermocinans vir adprime doctus, meus amicus, non hercle studio se ferens ostentandi neque quo 'plura' non dicendum putaret. Est enim doctrina homo seria et ad vitae officia devincta ac nihil de verbis laborante. Sed, opinor, assidua veterum scriptorum tractatione inoleverat linguae illius vox, quam in libris saepe offenderat.

Aderat, cum ille hoc dicit, reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a uolgo protrita legerat habebatque nonnullas disciplinae grammaticae inauditiunculas partim rudes inchoatasque partim non probas easque quasi pulverem ob oculos, cum adortus quemque fuerat, adspergebat. Sicut tunc amico nostro:

'barbare' inquit 'dixisti "pluria"; nam neque rationem verbum hoc neque auctoritates habet.' Ibi ille amicus ridens: 'amabo te' inquit 'vir bone, quia nunc a magis seriis rebus otium est, velim doceas nos, cur "pluria" sive "compluria" - nihil enim differt - non Latine sed barbare dixerint M. Cato, Q. Claudius, Valerius Antias, L. Aelius, P. Nigidius, M. Varro, quos subscriptores approbatoresque huius verbi habemus praeter poetarum oratorumque veterum multam copiam'. Atque ille nimis arroganter: 'tibi' inquit 'habeas auctoritates istas ex Faunorum et Aboriginum saeculo repetitas atque huic rationi respondeas. Nullum enim uocabulum neutrum comparatiuum numero pluratiuo recto casu ante extremum a habet i litteram, sicuti meliora maiora graviora. Proinde igitur 'plura' non 'pluria' dici convenit, ne contra formam perpetuam in comparatiuo i littera sit ante extremum a.'

Tum ille amicus noster, cum hominem confidentem pluribus verbis non dignum existimaret: 'Sinni' inquit 'Capitonis doctissimi viri, epistulae sunt uno in libro multae positae, opinor, in templo Pacis. Prima epistula scripta est ad Pacuvium Labeonem, cui titulus praescriptus est pluria, non plura dici debere. In ea epistula rationes grammaticas posuit, per quas docet "pluria" Latinum esse, "plura" barbarum. Ad Capitonem igitur te dimittimus ...

The attack on the woman's pedantry takes an entirely new turn in line 455 with the enjambement

nec curanda uiris.

Juvenal's attack now turns to a sexual theme and culminates in the double entente soloecismum ... marito. Although Housman's punctuation of 455, adopted by Clausen, is right, curanda is not, as Housman thought, neuter plural, but feminine singular. In 446-7, Juvenal put forward the idea that the bas bleu is more like a man than like a woman. Here he reintroduces the idea, saying that the pedantic female is not fit for the attentions of a male, nec curanda uiris, that she should go and find herself an ignorant amica, partner in homosexuality, whose grammar she could correct at will. For amica, see M. 7.70:

Ipsarum tribadum tribas, Philaeni,

Recte quam futuis vocas amicam.

A girl friend is what she needs; for a husband should be free to commit solecisms. The reader awake to the sexual undertones of nec curanda uiris, opicae ... uerba, and who knew M. 11.19, would see the double entente in soloecismum. M. 11.19 is regularly quoted in this context:

Quaeris cur nolim te ducere, Galla? Diserta es.

Saepe soloecismum mentula nostra facit.

but its exact bearing on the line of Juvenal left unexplained. Martial is implying that he is the kind of person who is not satisfied with the 'normal' method of sexual intercourse and likes variations. As Galla is diserta, she would not approve of 'solecisms', literally, of grammatical solecisms, in the context, of sexual solecisms. Juvenal here employs the same double entente: the wife is a stickler for correct grammar: no man should care for her; let her find a girl-friend to practise her pedantry on; for, being pedantic, she would not allow a husband any solecisms (grammatical solecisms), and no husband can be happy if he is not allowed a few (sexual) solecisms.

For such sexual solecisms, see also Lucian, Nigrinus, 31:

ὁ καὶ μάλιστα δαέσκειν αὐτῶν, ὅτι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι
ἰσοδοῖ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύταις
παρνομοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὅρους συγχέουσι, πάντοθεν
τῇ τρυφῇ παραδόντες αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πλεῖν,
καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις τε καὶ
κωμωδίαις λεγόμενον, ἥδη καὶ παρὰ θύραν
εἰσβιβάζονται. σολοικιστὸν οὖν ἐκάλεϊ τοῦτο
τῶν ἡδονῶν.

Juvenal hints broadly at the Greek origin of the woman's sexual perversion, (for which see note on pp. 150ff.). The woman is contrasted with her opica amica, opica indicating here pure Latin barbarousness, lack of interest in Literature, and so it is implied by contrast that the woman is full of 'Greek' learning, just as in 3.206-7, the opici mures eat the Graecos libellos, which are described in a grand mock-epic verse: et divina opici rodebant carmina mures, for which see Appendix IA, example 57.

[For note on opica used of the Romans by the Greeks, see Duff's note on 3.207]. So there is a subtle interplay between the woman's literary interests and her sexual interests: both are Greek in origin.

nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil, 457
 cum uiridis gemmas collo circumdedit et cum 458
 auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos. 459

non permittit echoes liceat, and so links 457-9 with what precedes.

The learned wife might try to prevent her husband from committing solecisms; but she allows herself everything. In view of the sexual double entente in soloecismum, the audience might well wonder whether Juvenal was hinting at the woman's sexual behaviour. Such speculation would be strengthened by the theme of epigrams such as A.P. 11.65, M. 9.37, 11.29, 11.62, in which we find a rich woman paying for her lover's favours.

The erotic theme is not developed, however, and 460

intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives

seems to make the attack an entirely general one.

The woman's wealth of ornamentation is described in two ironical cum-clauses. The form of the cum-clause is ironical in itself, in that it implies that the woman considers that the putting on of jewelry grants her immediate immunity from all kinds of restraint. The cum-clauses are also ironical in content; in the first, Juvenal calls emeralds 'green gems', instead of giving them their proper name, and describes the act of putting on a necklace in a flippancy periphrasis, 'puts green gems around her neck'. In the second, he uses the opposite technique, giving the pearls their proper name, elenchi, and emphasizing their size and weight by the grandeur of the verse pattern: A A B V B,

auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos.

Those luxurious Greek pearls are of truly impressive size. (See Appendix IA, example 295.

Juvenal is very probably inspired here by Ovid, MFF. 21-2, A.A. 3. 129ff. as we shall see that he is later too, on the same subject.

<u>Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina diues.</u>	460
interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo	461
pane tumet facies aut pingua Poppaeana	462
spirat et hinc miseri uiscantur labra mariti.	463
ad moechum lota ueniunt cute.	464

After the climax of 459, 460 is a one-line recapitulation of what precedes, and lowers the tone to normal pitch so as to serve as the starting point of the next section.

Clausen follows Paldamus and excises 460: presumably interea in 461 is felt to follow more aptly after the cum-clauses of 458 and 459 without the intervening 460. But this objection is over-scrupulous. 460 being merely a recapitulation of what precedes does not break the flow of thought, and the audience would understand that interea in 461 pointed back to the description of the woman in 458-9; she was there described as she would appear in public; she is now described as she would appear before that, interea. Although 460 does not contribute much thematically, it is not objectionable enough to be excised, nor is anything significant enough gained by its excision.

In interea ... spirat, Juvenal describes the horrible sight of the woman's face covered with beauty preparations. These intricate sophistications, all perfectly repellent, are mocked by the spondaic ending pingua Poppaeana, a mock-grand ending for the luxury mocked.

The husband's lips stick to these viscous preparations, (et hinc ... mariti). In contrast with this is the state of her skin when she goes to meet her adulterer: ad moechum lota veniunt cute.

Juvenal is here humorously echoing Ovid. (A.A. 3.209ff., R.A. 351-6). Cf. also Lucian, Amores 39. In both the A.A. and the R.A., Ovid says that the lover is inflamed by the result of the care expended by the woman on her face, but that he is put off if he sees the actual process.

Juvenal adapts Ovid's precepts to his own purpose: the wife displays to her husband the disgusting preparations, but she hides them from her lover.

She comes to her lover lota cute. There is in lota cute a pun on lotus = washed, and lautus = elegant, sophisticated. The woman in Ovid appears to her lover when the work on her face is complete and she is all painted and attractive. She could then be said to be lauta cute. But in addition to this meaning, suggested by the literary precedents, Juvenal's antithesis viscantur/lota cute would suggest the literal meaning of lota, washed. The audience, conscious of the literary precedents, would detect the word-play and Juvenal's sarcastic hint that, in this woman's case, lauta and lota are equivalent, i.e. that the woman could make her face lauta simply by washing it.

It must be pointed out that the scholia actually interpret lota as ornata.

quando uideri 464
 uult formonsa domi? moechis foliata parantur, 465
 his emitur quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi. 466

Juvenal now draws a second contrast on the same theme, the woman's indifference to her looks when she is at home, and her great attention to it for the sake of her lover.

The first part of this contrast takes the form of a rhetorical question, quando ... domi?, the second of two cola with quasi-anaphora, moechis ... his.

The exaggeration in the second clause is humorous: there was a great amount of luxury goods imported from India, and Pliny remarks on this; NH. 6.101:

Nec pigebit totum cursum ab Aegypto exponere nunc
 primum certa notitia patescente. digna res nullo anno
 minus HS [D] imperii nostri exhauriente India et merces
 remittente quae apud nos centiplicato veneant.

Juvenal suggests that this great volume of trade was for the benefit of adulterers.

The direct address to the Indians, the precise epithet, graciles, gives the verse a *recherché* and exotic flavour, thus creating a humorous contrast between the tone of the verse and its context.

tandem aperit uultum et tectoria prima reponit,	467
incipit agnosci, atque illo lacte fouetur	468
propter quod secum comites educit asellas	469
exul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem.	470

The woman now begins to remove her maquillage. Tandem picks up interea in 461. The uncovered face is compared to a wall from which the stucco has been removed (tectoria). After the outer layer has come off, (prima), the rest is washed off in a bath of asses' milk, (illo lacte ... axem). "Asses' milk" is expressed in a long-winded epic circumlocution (for which see pp. 28 - 35) which Juvenal uses here because he is referring to a well-known habit of Poppaea's, see Fliny, NH. 11.238, 28.183, Dio 62.28. The audience are prepared for this reference to Poppaea by Poppaeana in 462, which presumably means nothing more than "a face preparation of the kind which Poppaea used".

Within this epic circumlocution Juvenal indulges in a little more literary jeu: Poppaea took her asses with her wherever she went; Juvenal exaggerates this and says that she would have taken her asses with her even if she were banished to the end of the world, thus parodying a literary motif of the kind we find in Catullus 11, Hor. O. 2.6, 2.17, 10-12, Epodes, 1.11, Prop. 1.6, Ov. A. 2.16.21, Stat. Silv. 3.5. 19-21, 5.1. 127-31, where love, devotion, and friendship are typified by the willingness of one person to accompany another to the world's extremities; cf. Cat. 11. 1-5:

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli
 sive in extremos penetrabit Indos
 litus ut longe resonante Eoa
 tunditur unda,
 sive in Hyrcanos Arabasque molles ...

The Rhipaeae Mountains, beyond which the Hyperboreans were thought to dwell, are specifically mentioned as one of those far-distant places in Prop. 1.6.

The mention of exile may also be a playful and learned reference to an episode in Poppaea's life: when Nero fell in love with Poppaea, he made her husband, Otho, legate of Lusitania, but this apparent honour was in fact a form of exile to get him out of the way, see Suet. Otho, 3:

quare diducto matrimonio sepositus est per causam
legationis in Lusitaniam. Id satis visum, ne poena
acrior nimium omnem divulgaret, qui tamen sic quoque
enotuit:

Cur Otho mentito sit quaeritis exsul honore?

Uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae.

And when Nero, fearing his mother Agrippina, continually delayed his marriage to Poppaea, she taunted him:

quod si nunc Agrippina non nisi filio infestam ferre
posset, redderetur ipsa Othonis coniugio; ituram
quoque terrarum, ubi audiret potius ...

Tac. Ann. 14.1.

Within the epic circumlocution for asses' milk we have learned references to Poppaea set within a framework of literary jeu.

sed quae mutatis inducitur atque fouetur 471
 tot medicaminibus coctaeque siliginis offas 472
 accipit et madidae, facies dicetur an ulcus? 473

We have now come to the end of the section on the old woman's face. The preparations described here are like those also used for ulcers. See Plin. NH. 28.183. Juvenal first describes the cosmetics: for the elaborate preparations we have an equally elaborate relative clause with intricate hyperbatons: mutatis ... tot medicaminibus, coctae ... et madidae. And after the long description, a short and pungent comparison, set in the form of a rhetorical question, facies ... an ulcus? The woman's face is revealed at the very end to be a sore.

But there is further point in ulcus. The woman is revealed at the end to be past her prime. The old woman, rich, hiding her wrinkles by means of cosmetics, trying to buy or otherwise obtain a lover's favours is a familiar figure in Latin literature on account of Epodes 8 and 12.

Rogare longo putidam te saeculo
 vires quid enervet meas,
cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
frontem senectus exaret,
 hietque turpis inter aridas natis
 podex velut crudae bovis!
 sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
 equina quales ubera,
 venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
 exile suris additum.
esto beata, funus atque imagines

ducant triumphales tuum.
nec sit marita quae rotundioribus
onusta bacis ambulet.
quid quod libelli stoici inter Sericos
 iacere pulvillos amant?
 inlitterati num minus nervi rigent,
 minusve languet fascinum?
 quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine
 ore adlaborandum est tibi.

Epode 8.

quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
 munera cur mihi quidve tabellas
 mittis, nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae?
 namque sagacius unus odoror,
 polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
 quam canis acer, ubi lateat sus.
 quid sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
 crescit odor, cum pene soluto
 indomitam properat rabiem sedare, neque illi
iam manet unida creta colorque
stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando
 tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit ...

Epode 12.

The underlined parts are echoed in the relevant passage of Juvenal.

The eighth epode ends with the warning that the old woman, if she is going to induce any excitement, will need to have recourse to fellatio; we saw that 457 above could well be taken at first glance in an obscene sense, and that it is only at 460 that we are diverted

from that track; 473 returns to the theme of obscenity with a surprise twist, ... an ulcus? suggesting that this old woman, like Horace's, indulges in fellatio. For ulcus contains a pun. Ulcus is a sore. But consider the second sense, paralleled by Martial, 11.60:

Sit Phlogis an Chione Veneri magis apta requiris?

Pulchrior est Chione; sed Phlogis ulcus habet,
 ulcus habet Priami quod tendere possit alutam
 quodque senem Pelian non sinet esse senem.
 ulcus habet quod habere suam vult quisque puellam,
 quod sanare Criton non quod Hygia potest.

At Chione non sentit opus nec vocibus ullis

adiuvat, absentem marmoreamve putes.
 exorare, dei, si vos tam magna liceret,
 et bona velletis tam pretiosa dare,

hoc quod habet Chione corpus faceretis haberet

ut Phlogis, et Chione quod Phlogis ulcus habet.

Looking back on 457-9, our suspicion of obscenity is discovered to have been justified; in 460-72 Juvenal leads us along a different track to surprise us at 473. The husband is not allowed sexual solecisms; but the rich woman allows herself everything, considers nothing turpis; like Horace's old woman she will even indulge in fellatio. (For other examples of old women indulging in fellatio, cf. note on 199). Interea ... axem is a long digression on face preparations, and the two themes, obscene practices and face preparations, come together at the end in the one word ulcus.

est pretium curae penitus cognoscere toto	474
quid faciant agitentque die. si nocte maritus	475
auersus iacuit, periit libraria, ponunt	476
cosmetae tunicas, tarde uenisse Liburnus	477
dicitur et poenas alieni pendere somni	478
cogitur,	479

est pretium curae ... die is purely a transitional formula which allows Juvenal to go on to describe the woman's behaviour towards her servants. Once the transition is made, Juvenal forgets the formula and we are not really given an account of how the woman occupies her whole day. (See further on 479-80).

After the transition, the scene is set: si nocte ... iacuit; and then follows the apodosis, in three clauses in ascending order, with asyndeton: periit libraria, ponunt ... tunicas, tarde venisse dicitur et ... cogitur, the last being the most important, having two finite verbs, and containing the point: the wife is angry and frustrated because her husband refused to have intercourse with her during the night; so the libraria, (presumably the slave in charge of distributing the pensum to the spinners), is beaten. The suggestion is that the libraria is suspected of having had intercourse with the husband, and so of being the cause of his indolence. For the cosmetae, see below. But what of the Liburnian slave? It is usually assumed that he is said to have come late and is therefore flogged. But the three clauses (periit libraria, ponunt ... tunicas, tarde venisse ... dicitur et ... cogitur) are parallel and are the apodosis of si nocte ... iacuit. Explanations of this passage do not usually take into consideration its syntactical structure which seems to demand that the third apodosis, as a whole, like the other two, should be a consequence of the protasis, so that the first part of the

third apodosis, tarde ... dicitur, if it is a mere excuse for the second part of the apodosis et poenas ... cogitur, seems out of step. In any case, the whole relationship between the protasis and the three apodoses has not been adequately explained: the woman is sexually frustrated by her husband; she takes vengeance on the female servant, whom she suspects of being responsible for her husband's lack of responsiveness. (For cosmetae, see below). She then seeks from the Liburnian the satisfaction of her frustrated desires. She has him summoned, is so impatient for him to come that he seems to be taking a long time to appear, and, when he comes, forces him to pay the penalty for her husband's sleep, scilicet by having intercourse with her. Juvenal makes his point with subtlety, leaving a lot to our imagination; but the parallelism between nocte maritus aversus iacuit and Liburnus ... poenas alieni pendere somni cogitur surely carries the unmistakable suggestion that the Liburnian is forced to do what the husband failed to do. The sarcasm in poenas does not need to be further explained.

How do the cosmetae fit into this? M. Durry has shown, convincingly, that cosmetae are 'beauticians', and are masculine. He also points out that the word is a hapax and that there would be some doubt in the audience's minds as to the sexual status of the cosmetae. The satirist's aim he considers to be to 'ridiculiser la grécomanie d'un milieu aisé et une certaine confusion des sexes'. I think there is even more to the ambiguity than that: with perit libreria the situation is clear; the libreria is punished out of suspicious jealousy. The cosmetae are then made to remove their tunics. Why? the audience would ask. To be flogged? Are they men or women? Then the Liburnian's entrance makes it clear that the cosmetae are men, and that the cosmetae had to remove their tunics

so that the woman would have a visible criterion whereby to choose who was best equipped to pay the penalty which the Liburnian eventually pays.

hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello, 479
 hic scutica; sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent. 480

There should be a stronger punctuation than a comma after cogitur in 479. For with cogitur the apodosis following the protasis si nocte ... iacuit is concluded. Juvenal now describes the wife's cruelty generally, whether her husband has slept with his back to her or not. At hic frangit a new movement starts: we have an enumeration hic, ille, hic, followed by the punch line in asyndeton: sunt quae ... praestent.

Looking back to 475, we notice that Juvenal used a clever device to effect a transition. We observed earlier that the promise of est pretium curae ... faciant agitentque die was not kept. Instead the phrase quid faciant ... die introduces smoothly si nocte ... (nocte speaking to die) which in turn leads us to the description of the punishment which the servants receive: periit libraria, ponunt ... tunicas etc.; then, with hic frangit the satirist launches into a general attack of the woman's cruelty to her servants. The phrase quid faciant ... die, having served its purpose, viz. having led us into the theme of the wife's cruelty to her servants by way of si nocte ... iacuit, is entirely forgotten.

From the poenas of the Liburnian, Juvenal passes smoothly to the enumeration of the types of (real) punishment: hic ... scutica, is flippant in tone, reflecting the wife's unconcern: the first servant is not beaten with the rod, he breaks the rod. The turn of phrase minimises the suffering by making an agent of the slave. (Juvenal uses the same type of humour in 8.247). The second slave is not said to be whipped until he bleeds; he is said to be red with the whip. Again the suffering is minimized by the way the

thought is expressed. The conclusion of the enumeration, in asyndeton to it, is the epigrammatic sunt quae ... praestent. Three instruments of punishment are mentioned in the enumeration: ferulae, flagellum, scutica. It is this diversity of punishment which is then picked up in the epigrammatic ending. Some pay an annual salary to the torturer to have all his instruments of torture at their disposal: equuleus, fidiculae, ungulae, laminae, flagrum, talaria. (For the torturer and slaves, see 14. 18-22, 6.0 29). Cf. Sen. Ep. 14.6. The reference to the professional torturer is thus an effective climax to the enumeration of the instruments of punishment. It caps the flippant enumeration with a humorous hyperbole.

uerberat atque obiter faciem linit, audit amicas	481
aut latum pictae uestis considerat aurum	482
et caedit, longi relegit transuersa diurni	483
et caedit, donec lassiss caedentibus 'exi'	484
intonet horrendum iam cognitione peracta.	485

A new development of the theme of cruelty: the woman is engrossed in other activities while the slave is being beaten. The theme is stated in the first sentence:

uerberat atque obiter faciem linit

and then developed in two sentences. All three sentences stand in asyndeton. In the second and third sentences the order of the first is reversed: uerberat atque ... linit gives place to audit ... et caedit, longi relegit ... et caedit. The incessant beating is brought out by the asyndeton and by the repetition of et caedit which is moreover in enjambement in the same position in two consecutive verses.

The conclusion of this artistic description then comes:

donec lassiss caedentibus 'exi'

intonet horrendum iam cognitione peracta.

A punning conclusion. cognitio = (1) 'trial', and this the meaning of the word which commentaries usually seize on: this beating is all the trial the slave gets. But there is present a second meaning, (2) 'a getting to know', which is prepared for by what precedes. While the beating was being carried out, the woman was (a) listening to her friends, (b) carefully examining the gold band in an embroidered robe, (c) rereading the lines written across a long diurnum.

Both senses of cognitio are present in 485. When the slave has been beaten, (a) his trial is over, (b) the woman has become fully acquainted with what her friends had to say, the qualities and defects of the embroidered robe, and the news, (or the day-accounts).

By means of a pun, Juvenal makes the point that the only 'examination' the slave gets is the 'examination' of irrelevant matters, i.e. no 'examination' at all.

Juvenal does not treat the subject with any degree of moral disapprobation. He is merely interested in the verbal niceties of the situation.

Diurnum is better explained, with Duff, as the gazette, acta diurna. This is a common meaning. (See TLL). The meaning 'day-account book', rationarium diurnum, which the scholia give and Friedlaender prefers, comparing Sen. Ep. 122.15, is unparalleled. Certainty is impossible, and, in this case, unimportant.

praefectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.	486
nam si constituit solitoque decentius optat	487
ornari et properat iamque expectatur in hortis	488
aut apud Isiacae potius sacraria lenae,	489
disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis	490
nuda umeros Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis.	491
'altior hic quare cincinnus?' taurea punit	492
continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.	493

Juvenal gives another example of the woman's sadism, and introduces it with a general remark praefectura ... aula. He then proceeds to give the example. The cause of the hurry and of the desire to look more beautiful than usual, viz. an assignation with an adulterer, sets off the cruelty. And, in passing, the satirist remarks sarcastically upon the immorality of the religion of Isis. The circumstances are described in a long conditional clause in two parts joined by et, the two parts dividing in turn into two parts joined by -que. In the first part it is stated that she has an assignation and wishes to look more beautiful than usual, constituit solitoque ... ornari; the subject of the second is her impatience, properat iamque ... lenae. In 490-1 comes the main clause, describing Psecas at work. There is in 490 the ironical contrast between Psecas's own hair and her mistress's:

disponit crinem / laceratis ipsa capillis.

And as it is the woman who has torn her maid's hair, as she would tear her face in Ov. A.A. 3.239, the irony is greater: Psecas arranges her mistress's hair; her mistress has torn hers.

This theme, corporal punishment inflicted on the hairdresser by a cruel mistress, is found in Ov. A. 1.14. 13-18

A.A. 3.239

Martial 2.66.

But Juvenal has gone further than his predecessors: he describes Psecas at work already stripped, so that the punishment can be inflicted without delay. And this immediate punishment is the climax of the section, 492-3. The adjectival clauses qualifying Psecas infelix come on either side of it, separated from it by two caesuras:

nuda umeros / Psecas infelix / nudisque mamillis.

The sexually suggestive element, emphasizing the woman's sadism - a detail unparalleled in Ovid or Martial - is reserved for the last.

Then in the last two lines comes the climax. The punishment follows immediately the woman observes that one of her ringlets is too high. The last words, flexi ... capilli contain the sour observation that Psecas is punished for what is the fault of the woman's curl. This point is made as economically as possible by verbal manipulation. The woman's complaint, altior hic quare cincinnus? is echoed exactly in the satirist's observation, flexi crimen facinusque capilli: crimen facinusque = altior; flexi capilli = cincinnus. And this exact correspondence exonerates Psecas of all blame.

quid Psecas admisit? quatenus est hic culpa puellae,	494
si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? altera laeuum	495
extendit pectusque comas et uoluit in orbem.	496
est in consilio materna admotaque lanis	497
emerita quae cessat acu; sententia prima	498
huius erit, post hanc aetate atque arte minores	499
censebunt, tamquam famae discrimen agatur	500
aut animae: tanta est quaerendi cura decoris.	501

In 494-5, Juvenal restates in different terms the same idea expressed pithily by flexi ... capilli, that Psecas is punished for defects in the woman's beauty for which she is not to blame. This repetition provides the first item in an enumeration, followed by a second, (altera ...), and then a third, (est in consilio ...), which creates the impression of many people being involved in creating the hair style. The first item, quid Psecas ... nasus tuus, makes a smooth transition from the subject of cruelty to the theme of coquetterie, the subject of the present section.

The variation nasus tuus adds some spice to the repetition: why this totally unexpected reference to the woman's nose when we have up to now only been concerned with her hair? Nasus is brought in for the sake of a pun: it is by means of the nose, of the rhonchus, that one expresses mockery, disgust, fastidiousness. Cf. M. 1.3.5, 1.41.18, 13.2.1, Pers. 1.40, H.Ep. 1.19.45, Q.11.3.80, Plin. NH. Praef. 7.

As the woman is so fussy about her hair-do, she could be said to be nasutior aequo; the implication is that she is nasutior aequo literally as well as metaphorically.

Psecas has been brought back into the picture as the first of the people busying themselves with the wife's hair. Then comes a

second ornatrix, whose action is described in a tricolon: extendit, pectitque comas, et volvit in laevum orbem. Housman's indication that 'laevum et orbem coniungenda sunt' is undoubtedly right. (See his apparatus and his introduction, p. xlix for parallels). Extendit laevum by itself is pointless, whereas if we take laevum and orbem together, the three actions in curling are bound together - the coiffeuse stretches out a strand of hair, combs it, and makes it into a curl - while the hyperbaton brings the sentence round upon itself, imitating the movement of the curl.

Then comes the third member, and Juvenal now compares the maids busy about the wife's head to a consilium, having in mind as his model a meeting of the amici principis. Many of those amici were people who had held high office, see Crook, Consilium Principis, pp. 28-30; so here too the main figure is the equivalent of a princeps civitatis, an old woman who served under the wife's mother - as many amici had been the counsellors of the previous princeps - who has served her time as coiffeuse, emerita acu, and is now in the wool department. Acus is here the instrument used in hair dressing for parting the hair and also for curling it. See Daremberg, Saglio and OLD s.v. acus. Strangely, Friedlaender, who is an expert in antiquities, and Knoche, believe that the old woman used to be engaged in needlework.

This old woman, an expert in hair dressing, speaks first. Then her juniors and inferiors in skill give their opinion, and the satirist observes that things are done as if famae discrimen agatur atque animae. There is a word-play in discrimen. Discrimen was the word commonly used for a parting in the hair, a way of parting the hair. See Ovid, A.A. 2.303, Colum. 10.94, Claud. Nupt. Honor. 101-3. The acus, the instrument used to make this parting and for separating the hair into different strands was called discerniculum. See

Varro, L.L. 5.29.129, Nonius, p. 51 (Lindsay), Isid. 19.31.8. There can be little doubt, consequently, that in this context of haute-coiffure, the implication tamquam famae aut animae non capillorum tantum discrimen would be sharpened by the hairdressing associations of the word discrimen.

To conclude this solemn discussion of matters of great importance, there is a flourish in the grand style, tanta est quaerendi cura decoris, reminiscent of conclusions like the Virgilian

tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem

A. 1.33

and of the Lucretian

tantum religio potuit suadere malorum

1.101

tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum	502
aedificat caput: Andromachen a fronte uidebis,	503
post minor est, credas aliam, cedo si breue parui	504
sortita est lateris spatium breuiorque uidetur	505
uirgine Pygmaea nullis adiuta coturnis	506
et leuis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta.	507

The subject is still the woman's coquetterie, but the emphasis is now on the height to which she builds up her edifice of hair: ordinibus, compagibus, aedificat are all in the metaphor, describing the piling up of tier upon tier of curls in terms of a builder adding row upon row of stones to make up a wall. The comical result is then expressed in Andromachen ... aliam: from the front, she looks as tall as Andromache; then, especially reserved for the next line comes the surprise: if you look at her from behind, she looks like an entirely different person. To increase the comical effect, Juvenal then invites us to imagine it in the most ridiculous circumstance, namely if the woman in question is diminutive, and so ends the section with two complementary comic pictures, the first of a tiny pygmy, one foot tall; the second of a diminutive creature having to stand on tip-toe to be kissed.

The humour of the first picture is increased by the epic word-pattern, V A B B A, with which the Pygmies - Homeric creatures - are favoured, as they are again, with the same intended effect in 13.168:

Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,

(See Appendix IA, example 86).

And the humour of the second picture is humour of imagination: standing side by side with a man, she might be as tall as him; but if she wanted to be kissed she would have to stand on tip-toe to bring her lips level with his.

nulla uiri cura interea nec mentio fiet	508
damnorum. uiuit tamquam uicina mariti,	509
hoc solo propior, quod amicos coniugis odit	510
et seruos, grauis est rationibus.	511

In 508-9, nulla uiri ... damnorum, the new theme is set out, her lack of concern for her husband; and interea is the only link between this and the last section; it is an entirely artificial link.

The theme is then developed by means of a comparison between the wife and a neighbour. The only difference between the wife and a neighbour is that, unlike the neighbour, the wife hates her husband's friends and slaves, and spends his money for him. This is the content of 509-11 paraphrased. But more than half the interest of the section is in the fact that Juvenal teases our imagination by working out the comparison in terms of distance. He starts off by saying that the wife lives, so to speak, next door. Instead of saying then, "What makes her one of the household ...", he says: "What brings her nearer...", and, of course, if you live nearer than a person's next door neighbour you live in the same house as the person. By establishing the comparison in terms of distance, which seems odd at first, Juvenal introduces a sort of puzzle which he invites the audience to solve; and in solving it, they will appreciate the word-play: Propior = nearer, bodily nearer than a vicina, and propior = more closely related.

See how this is trivialized in P. Green's rendering:

She's less a wife than a neighbour
Except when it comes to loathing his friends and slaves
Or running up bills ...

	ecce furentis	511
Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens		512
semiur, obsceno facies reuerenda minori,		513
mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa		514
iam pridem, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt		515
plebeia et Phrygia uestitur bucca tiara.		516

Juvenal introduces the theme of superstitious beliefs directly by bringing on the stage devotees of Bellona and Cybele. This section is linked to 508-11 by gravis est rationibus in 511 which is picked up by 518-21, 540-1, 546. 508-11 ... rationibus is a transitional passage, its last words, gravis est rationibus, serving to introduce the section on superstition.

Having introduced the horde of devotees in ecce ... intrat, Juvenal leaves them in the background to concentrate on the leader of the Galli, the ingens semivir, who is dealt with at length. First, his size is emphasized, ingens semivir, an expression which contains an obvious word-play: he is huge, but only half a man. It is humorously suggested that it is his size which gives him preponderance amongst his fellow eunuchs in

obsceno facies reverenda minori.

His self-castration is then described in a line with an epic word-order, V A B B A, in a parody of the solemn sacral style. (See Appendix IA, example 143). We can observe the familiar clash of the solemn style and the crude subject-matter.

The enjambement gives iam pridem prominence, stressing sarcastically that he has not had any testes for a long time, and is consequently deserving of greater respect.

The description of the archigallus ends with an ascending tricolon, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt, plebeia et cui Phrygia vestitur

bucca tiara. I prefer to put a comma after cedunt with e.g. Duff, Ramsay, Labriolle et Villeneuve, P. Green, rather than to take plebeia as agreeing with tympana, with Friedlaender, Housman, Clausen. Plebeia does not seem to be the right word to express the difference in rank between the archigallus and his acolytes; whereas plebeia/Phrygia gives a pointed contrast: the noble Romans were traditionally descended from the Trojans, or Phrygians, and Juvenal calls the nobles Troiugenae (11.95, 1.100, 8.181). So, plebeia bucca/Phrygia tiara gives us a sharp contrast which tympana plebeia does not.

The equation Galli = Trojans may have been suggested to Juvenal by Iarbas' insult directed at Aeneas

Et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
subnixus ...

V.A. 4.215-7.

The section then ends with a mock-epic line, V A B B A, (see Appendix IA, example 144), like 514 sacral in tone, clashing with the obscenity of the subject-matter. For there is surely obscenity implied in bucca. Bucca commonly refers to the mouth used in sexual acts, cf. M.1.41. 13, 2.28, 11.61, 3.75, Petr. 64, Varro apud Nonium 569 (Lindsay). And, of course, Galli were suspected of sexual misbehaviour. Compare the effeminate priests of the Syrian Goddess who

passimque circumfusi nudatum supinatumque
iuvenem execrandis oribus flagitabant.

Apul. Met. 8.29.

So, irony is produced (a) by the contrast between Phrygia tiara and plebeia bucca, (b) between the epic rhythm and the obscene subject, containing an element of mock-nobility in Phrygia.

grande sonat metuique iubet Septembris et austri	517
aduentum, nisi se centum lustrauerit ouis	518
et xerampelinas ueteres donauerit ipsi,	519
ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat	520
in tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum.	521

The priest threatens disasters and offers to use his skill to avert them. The imposing tone which he uses to make the disasters forecast sound formidable is expressed ironically by grande sonat (see Appendix on grandis, IC), and, in contrast with the tone, his actual forecasts of doom and his remedies are puny. He forecasts fevers in the hot unhealthy season, as the least inspired Roman could; and to save his devotee from the doom of impending fever, he asks her to purify herself by giving him a hundred eggs and some old tunics. The tunics are given a rare Greek name to make them sound more impressive, and a worthier expiatory sacrifice. The same ironical effect is achieved by the association of the religious lustraverit and the puny centum ovis. (I note in passing that this effect is lost on Hightet, p. 103 who mistakes the eggs for sheep).

The irony is then maintained in the concluding couplet: with a prestidigitator's ease, the priest makes the great and unexpected danger leave the whole year pure by ... passing into the tunics. The ironical contrast of tone is clearly marked between quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat and totum semel expiet annum on the one hand and in tunicas eat on the other.

hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem,	522
ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis	523
uerticibus timidum caput abluet, inde superbi	524
totum regis agrum nuda ac tremibunda cruentis	525
erepet genibus; si candida iusserit Io,	526
ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas	527
a Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede	528
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ouili.	529

In 522-26, we find described in a sarcastic manner two actions performed, apparently, by the wife, (but see below). The first action is the washing in the ice-bound Tiber. First we have in the breaking of the ice a parody of the sacral tone, 522 being a mock-epic line constructed on the A B B V A pattern, (see Appendix IA, example 145). Then there is the dipping in the Tiber, the solemnity of which, with its ritual ter and its poetic use of matutinus, is humorously dispelled by timidum caput.

After the dip, she creeps on her knees all around the Campus Martius. Again the same humorous juxtaposition of the solemn - in this case the circumlocution for the Campus Martius, recalling an event of Rome's great past, Liv. 2.5, - and the ridiculous, the naked shivering woman crawling round on her bleeding knees.

Then in 526 si candida ... -529, at the bidding of Io, (identified with Isis, see Friedlaender, Duff), the wife, apparently, goes beyond Egypt to Meroe in Aethiopia to get water from the Nile. The water used for the ritual of Isis in her temple in Rome was supposed to be Nile water. See Servius ad A. 2.116; Cumont, p. 89 and planche, 7, No. 2. Juvenal derides this ritualistic nonsense by means of hyperbole. To get this precious Nile water, the devotee of Isis would go not merely to Egypt but beyond Egypt to the heart of Ethiopia.

Et le but de cette expédition est décrit en termes ironiques: cette eau précieuse, obtenue au prix de tant d'efforts, est répandue dans le temple d'Isis, qui est à son tour décrit de manière bouffonne: "le temple d'Isis qui se dresse voisin de l'antique Bergerie". Juvénal donne à l'expression un tour épique en rappelant une époque passée, presque légendaire (voir plus bas). Mais la mention de la bergerie introduit une note terre-à-terre et prosaïque qui tourne en farce la dévotion religieuse de la dévote d'Isis. C'est dans ce but que Juvénal appelle le bâtiment en question Ovile alors qu'il y a tout lieu de croire que du temps de Juvénal on l'appelait communément Saepta ou Saepta Julia; Martial, par exemple, ne lui connaît pas d'autre nom. Si Lucain (2.196-7) use de l'appellation ovilia

tum flos Hesperiae Latii iam sola iuventus

concidit et miserae maculavit ovilia Romae

c'est d'abord parce-que le bâtiment dont il est question chez Lucain n'est que le prédécesseur - Lucain parle ici des massacres de Sulla - de la Saepta Julia, qui fut conçue par Jules César qui en commença la construction sur le même emplacement que l'ancien ovile, et ensuite pour accentuer le pathétique de sa description par le contraste entre l'institution ancienne, symbole de la République et de sa Constitution, et les assassinats de la guerre civile qui en sont comme la dénégarion. Juvénal a recours au même artifice que le poète épique, mais dans le but délibéré de créer un effet comique de faux-solennel.

Il est à remarquer que l'emplacement du temple d'Isis dans le voisinage de la Saepta Julia, tel que Juvénal l'indique, est exact. Voir E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, s.vv. SAEPTA, ISEUM ET SERAPEUM. Lily Ross Taylor, Roman voting Assemblies, p. 47.

Quel est le sujet des vers 522-30? Les éditeurs s'accordent à dire que c'est l'épouse. Mais plusieurs difficultés sont à noter:

(1) De 515-21, il est question de la religion des Galles.

Au vers 522, il n'y a aucune indication que Juvénal a changé de sujet. Le lecteur pourrait bien s'imaginer que Juvénal parle toujours de la religion de la Grande Déesse. Pourtant, au vers 526, il devient évident que le satiriste parle non de la religion de Cybèle, mais de la religion d'Isis, et les éditeurs, e.g. Lubinus, Friedlaender, Duff, (v. le résumé des vers 508-68 de ce dernier), ont bien compris que dès le vers 522 il est question de la religion Isiaque. Et pourtant il n'y a aucune indication dans le texte que la religion attaquée a changé, et nous sommes surpris par le si candida iusserit Io du vers 526.

(2) Si nous acceptons l'interprétation courante de ce passage, aux vers 530-1 c'est l'épouse elle-même qui voit Isis/Io en rêve. Or, si tel est le cas, que veut dire ergo au vers 532? Pourquoi le prêtre à tête de chacal représentant Anubis est-il digne de recevoir de grands honneurs parce-que l'épouse communique avec les dieux en rêve? Question que les éditeurs ne se posent pas.

(3) Considérons tout le morceau 510-64: nous y trouvons une procession de toutes sortes de prêtres et de charlatans qui viennent rendre visite à l'épouse chez elle:

511-21 Un Galle de Cybèle et de Bellone

522-31 ?

532-41 Un prêtre de la religion d'Osiris et d'Anubis

542-7 Une prophétesse juive

548-52 Un haruspice d'Arménie et de Commagène

553-6 Un astrologue chaldéen

557-64 Un astrologue chaldéen repris de justice.

Au milieu de ce morceau, aux vers 522-31, le satiriste aurait placé, selon les éditeurs, un passage ayant pour sujet non pas les simagrées

des prêtres rendant visite à l'épouse, mais l'épouse elle-même. Ce qui serait étrange. À mon avis ces trois considérations sont probantes: nous devons supposer à la suite du vers 521 une lacune d'un ou de plusieurs vers introduisant un nouveau personnage, notamment une prêtresse d'Isis, qui est le sujet des vers 522-31. Les difficultés 1 et 3 disparaissent immédiatement, et ergo devient compréhensible: la prêtresse d'Isis communique avec la déesse en rêve; c'est là son titre de gloire. Le prêtre qui porte la tête de chacal dans les processions est donc digne des honneurs les plus grands, puisque dans ces processions il est le dieu même. Voir Apulée, Met. 11.11.

Dans un passage de Sénèque, de vita beata, 26.8, c'est une prêtresse qui, comme ici, rampe sur ses genoux ensanglantés.

credit enim ipsius dominae se uoce moneri. 530
en animam et mentem cum qua di nocte loquantur! 531

530-1 are an ironical tag isolating one idea arising from the previous passage, namely, that the priestess communicates with the gods. This idea is then picked up by ergo in 532, and so serves to introduce the section on the priest of Anubis and Osiris.

530 picks out the idea; 531 comments ironically on it.

ergo hic praecipuum summumque meretur honorem 532
 qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege caluo 533
 plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis. 534

ergo links the paragraph on Anubis with the idea isolated in 530-1. The priestess of Isis communicates directly with the goddess at night; but the priest here is Anubis. Apuleius Met. 11.11 shows this, as does the form of Juvenal's own expression: the priest is derisor Anubis.

Juvenal's sarcasm here imagines the priest, hidden under the jackal's head of Anubis, laughing at the credulous troupe of devotees who are mourning the ritual death of Osiris. The sarcasm is adumbrated in the flippant description of the devotees as grege linigero et grege calvo, cf. M. 12.29.19, and appears splendidly in the last line, composed on a mock-heroic pattern, A A V B B (see Appendix IA, example 146), with the sorrowing mob on one side of the verb and the mocking Anubis on the other.

Currit adds a visual dimension to the sarcasm.

ille petit ueniam, quotiens non abstinet uxor	535
concubitu sacris obseruandisque diebus:	536
magnaue debetur uiolato poena cadurco	537
et mouisse caput uisa est argentea serpens;	538
illius lacrimae meditataque murmura praestant	539
ut ueniam culpa non abnuat ansere magno	540
scilicet et tenui popano corruptus Osiris.	541

Our attention is now directed to the function of the other priest: his duty to exact punishment for sins committed and to intercede for the gods' pardon. This is dealt with in two movements which in the text as it stands are as follows:

1. 535-8
2. 539-41.

But this division leaves something to be desired: first, in the first movement, we have first the main clause, which states that it is the priest who seeks pardon, scilicet, from the god or goddess offended, and then we are told why (even though the subordinate adverbial clause is formally one of time): the wife has not observed the days of ritual continence; consequently (this is expressed by -que), she owes some form of reparation to atone for her sin. The sense is now complete, and the serpent shaking his head introduces a new idea which fits in oddly with the development of the thought or argument.

In addition, considering the lines from the point of view of style, the clause giving the reason why punishment has to be sought rises to a climax in 537 with the mock-heroic verse on a A V B A B pattern with its sarcastic flavour, sarcastic by reason of the clash between the solemn tone and the low, here sexual, subject-matter (see Appendix IA, example 147); and also of the mock-religious

violato cadurco, the profaned ... bed-cover. Coming after this, et movisse ... serpens deadens the impact. So flow of thought and also style are improved if the first section ends at 537.

Moreover, what is the significance of the serpent shaking its head? We are told by commentators, who compare Hor. S. 1.5.58, V.A. 7.292, Hom. Od. 5.285, 17.465, 17.491, that it is a sign of anger. But what is its significance here? Presumably the wife knows that she has broken the rule of continence and she does not need the serpent's angry nod to make her aware of the sin. It could be argued that the woman tries to hide her sin, and that it is the visible sign of the god's anger that forces her to admit her sin. But if this is so, et movisse ... serpens has great importance, and it becomes even odder that it should be made to fit so awkwardly into the development of the thought.

In addition, it is natural that movisse caput should be connected with abnuat Osiris, therefore that it should indicate that the god refuses his pardon. It cannot have this sense in the passage as it stands, for the god would be made to refuse his pardon before he has been asked for it.

The remedy to all those difficulties is to put a full-stop after cadurco, and to emend et movisse to at movisse. The two movements are then:

1. 535-7
2. 538-41.

The first movement rises to its climax in 537, as analysed above. We are then to imagine that the priest prays to the gods asking for forgiveness for the wife's sin. But the gods are not appeased, and they signify their anger by means of the negative nod of the serpent. The priest reports the gods' inflexibility to the wife, at... visa est

putting the words into his mouth. His aim is of course to get some large contribution, a big goose, from the wife. And it is with this big goose that he will try for a second time to obtain Osiris' forgiveness, and so break down the inflexibility evidenced by the shaking of the head of the serpent at the first attempt.

Juvenal uses irony throughout this passage. We can hear the solemn tone of the priest mimicked in 537; reporting the dire omen in 538. In 538-41 the effect is redoubled: we are first told of his tears and his practised mumblings, and only afterwards of how Osiris' inflexibility will really be made to relent, ansere magno scilicet ... Sarcastic too is the contrast ansere magno/tenui popano: the sacrificial cake may be thin and slight, but the goose has to be a big one. The crowning irony is the sting in the end, corruptus Osiris, when the reader is by now well aware that it is not Osiris but the priest who has to be bribed.

For the snake in the Isiac religion see Macr. Sat. 1.20.14, Ov. A. 2.13.13, Met. 9.695, Val. Fl. 4.418, Aelian, Hist. An. 10.31, Apul. Met. 11.3.4.

On sacrifices of geese to Isis and Osiris, see Her. 2.45, Ov. Fast. 1.453.

cum dedit ille locum, cophino fenoque relicto	542
arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem,	543
interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos	544
arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli.	545
implet et illa manum, sed parcius; aere minuto	546
qualiacumque uoles Iudaei somnia uendunt.	547

The procession of charlatans continues; the priest of Osiris goes away, and is replaced by a Jewish priestess whom Juvenal derides. First he describes in 542-3 what she has come to do: he emphasizes at the outset that she has left behind all her possessions: cophino fenoque relicto. Juvenal laughs at the bareness of her supellex.

Cf. 3.14:

Iudaeis quorum cophinus faenumque supellex.

And all this she has left behind, so that she can come and beg. The begging is described in a mock-heroic line on the V A B B A pattern, see Appendix IA, example 148. Note again the clash of tone and matter. The ironically poetic and mystical expression arcanam aurem; Iudaea tremens which describes sarcastically some kind of religious possession; these clash with mendicat, the down-to-earth word amidst this religious abracadabra.

Then, in a tricolon, Juvenal describes, derisively still, the general characteristics of the Jewish priestess: she interprets the Solymian laws, i.e. the laws of Moses; by using Solymarum Juvenal is making a sarcastic connection between the Jews and the Homeric Solymi (see Tacitus, Hist. 5.2) and so laughing at the priestess' supposed Epic descent. He also laughs at her when he calls her the great priestess of the tree. The exact reference there is, however, obscure. Duff may be right in suggesting that "the reference is to the trees outside the Porta Capena where the Jews were allowed to take up their

abode as squatters; cf. arbor and silva. 3.16." The final mockery is directed at her being a messenger of the sky, an ironical reference to the supposed Jewish worship of the sky. Cf. 14.96-7, and see Friedlaender ad loc.

The paragraph is rounded off in two lines: the priestess receives her few coins, and then comes the sententia: for a few coppers Jews will sell you any nonsense/your dearest wishes. The sententia is enlivened by this ambiguity of somnia.

spondet amatorem tenerum uel diuitis orbi	548
testamentum ingens calidae pulmone columbae	549
tractato Armenius uel Commagenus haruspex;	550
pectora pullorum rimabitur, exta catelli	551
interdum et pueri; faciet quod deferat ipse.	552

The sententia of the preceding section, qualiacumque somnia vendunt prepares the way for the transition. The promises of the haruspex pick up somnia in its second sense.

The haruspex' forecasts vary according to the lady's penchant. If the lady is sensual, she is promised a young and lively lover; if she has a more materialistic turn of mind, she is promised an old lover, but one who is rich and childless. The contrast between the two kinds of lovers is never actually expressed; the old lover is not even mentioned as such. It is left to the intelligence and the imagination to conjure him up.

The haruspex is described in a long, complex, artistically contrived phrase, hemmed in by an epithet and noun in hyperbaton, ingens ... haruspex. His fumbling with entrails is given a subordinate position: the emphasis is on his promise, and on his description and nationality. Then, in 551-2, it is his sacrificial activity which is highlighted, and three possible victims enumerated: chicks, a pup - and then the surprise, in enjambement - sometimes even a young child. The concluding sententia reveals the real aim of the haruspex: he is a delator. We have passed from wild promises to cold-blooded murder and betrayal in the space of five verses.

Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia: quidquid	553
dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum	554
Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant	555
et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.	556

The astrologers are introduced in a four-line section which is merely a prelude to the larger section 557-64 about those astrologers who have been in trouble with the law. Maiores... fiducia is a formal transition.

Once the astrologers - Chaldaei and astrologus are synonyms - have been introduced, Juvenal launches into a digression on the source of their foreknowledge which allows him to allude to the fountain of the Sun and its bizarre temperature changes, and, sarcastically, to the state in which the human race finds itself as regards the Delphic Oracle: "murkiness of the future condemns the human race" is a precious expression calculated to sound pseudo-religious. It is also meant to sound oracular and mysterious, a parody of the language of those oracles which are the subject of this section. He does this so successfully that scholars have, understandably, been misled. There is no doubt that damnat can only mean what Duff says it means, "pronounces guilty". But what does "murkiness of the future pronounces the human race guilty" mean? Instead of asking themselves this question, scholars have chosen to blur the Latin to make caligo futuri not the thing passing judgement, but the sentence; e.g. P. Green:

Now that Delphi has fallen silent

The human race is condemned to murky unknowing

Of what the future may bring.

Ramsay:

for now that the Delphian oracles are dumb, man is
condemned to darkness as to his future.

See also Labriolle et Villeneuve, Knoche, Friedlaender: i.e. they have assumed that Juvenal meant: "murkiness of the future condemns the human race not to know the future". Juvenal, besides the oracular style, is making fun of epic poetry. Lucan, as Friedlaender, Duff, point out, refers to the silence of the Delphic oracle, 5.111-4:

non ullo saecula dono
nostra carent maiore deum, quam Delphica sedes
quod siluit, postquam reges timuere futura
et superos vetuere loqui.

And presumably Juvenal's audience of litterati would realise this, and remember the continuation of the story, where the final and most emphatic of the reasons alleged for the silence of the oracle is, 139-40:

seu Paeon solitus templis arcere nocentis
ora quibus solvat nostro non invenit aevo.

So darkness as to the future in Delphi declares all men to be guilty and unworthy of being told the future.

The whole of the reference to Delphi is a gratuitous digression the only point of which is to bring in this literary and oracular puzzle.

praecipuus tamen est horum, qui saepius exul,	557
cuius amicitia conducendaque tabella	558
magnus ciuis obit et formidatus Othoni.	559
inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro	560
laeuaque, si longe castrorum in carcere mansit.	561
nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit,	562
sed qui paene perit, cui uix in Cyclada mitti	563
contigit et parua tandem caruisse Seripho.	564

The subject-matter of the section starting at 557 is that, of all astrologers, those who have been in trouble with the law are the most in favour. Note that the procession of charlatans is now over. The 'procession' having served the useful structural purpose of continuity from 511 to 552 is quietly forgotten. Before 557-64 are interpreted two adjustments must be made to the text. The first was suggested by Knoche in Gnomon 9 (1933) 253, and incorporated in the text of his edition, viz., the indication of a lacuna after 557. Knoche's arguments are (a), that cuius ... Othoni refers to a specific person, Seleucus or Ptolemy - historians do not agree on his name - and is the subject of an exemplum illustrating the general point which Juvenal starts to enunciate in 557. (b), that the relative clause qui saepius... needs a verb. (c), that there is need of something to bind together the general statement in 557 and the specific exemplum in 558-9. I find Knoche's arguments convincing. And the omission of 558-9 from some MSS. further indicates disturbance at this point in the tradition. All things considered, it is much more sensible to indicate a lacuna after 557 and regard 558-9 as genuine, as Knoche does, than to mark 558-9 as suspect as Housman does.

557-9 forms a self-contained paragraph culminating in the epic circumlocution describing Ptolemy (or Seleucus). For such circumlocutions

in Juvenal, see pp. 28-34. We saw that such circumlocutions usually contain a humorous point, and this one is no exception: if we expect 559 to contain a joke, et formidatus Othoni, the concluding words of the circumlocution, will be understood and seen to contain a humorous point. The difficulty in et formidatus Othoni is that the historians do not record that Otho was particularly afraid of Galba, and we expect that circumlocutions of this sort will refer to something famous. The words are referred, e.g. by Duff, to Tacitus H. 1.21, which shows, if anything, that Otho had no fear of Galba. It is much more likely that Juvenal's audience would see a reference to the events of the night after Galba's murder, reported by Suetonius, Otho, 7:

dicitur ea nocte per quietem pavefactus gemitus
maximos edidisse repertusque a concursantibus humi
ante lectum iacens per omnia piaculorum genera Manes
Galbae a quo deturbari expellique se viderat propitiare
temptasse; postridie quoque in augurando tempestate
orta graviter prolapsus identidem obmurmurasse

τί γὰρ μοι καὶ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ;

and by Dio 63.7. 558-9 would then give a very compressed account of the events surrounding Galba's murder, culminating in an allusive reference to the apparition of Galba's ghost and Otho's panic.

Before we interpret the rest of the paragraph, we must make the second textual adjustment mentioned above; i.e. we must repunctuate 561-2 by putting a colon at the end of 561 and a full stop after 562. The point of the section would then be the pun on genium habebit, which means (1) will have life, (2) will have genius.

Indemnatus occurs very often in connection with people who have been put to death without first being condemned to death, without

trial. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.45.1:

P. Clodius ... legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem
Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ...

Val. Max. 6.2.8:

quod indemnati sub te ... occidissent.

Cic. inv. 2.79:

tamen a fratre indemnatum necari non oportuit

part. orat. 106:

potueritne recte salutis reipublicae causa civem
eversorem civitatis indemnatum necare

Sall. B.C. 51.29:

ei primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum
indemnatum necare

See also Plaut. Curc. 695-7; ad Herenn. 4.33; Cic. dom. 21;

Paul. Fest. 247 (Lindsay), 221M; Sen. Cont. 9.2.21; Quint. 3.11.14;

Cic. leg. 1.42; Cic. inv. 2.84; Liv. 3.13. 5; Val. Max. 7.2. Ext. 15.

We can then formulate a general law thus: "people who are indemnati shall not be put to death". And we can then express the paradox in these words: "astrologers who are indemnati shall be put to death", with genium non habebunt in sense (1). In the build up inde fides artis prepares for sense (2) of genium habebit, and the enumeration of punishments for indemnatus = condemned to imprisonment. But in the punch line, because of their proximity to one another, and because of the commonness of the expression, as exemplified in the passages referred to above, indemnatus and genium habebit speak to each other, and the first takes on the meaning "condemned to death", and the second the sense "will live". Juvenal is here adapting a pun which he no doubt found in Martial, 6.60, where there is a pun on the

same two meanings of genium habere:

ingeniosa tamen Pompulli scripta feruntur:

"sed famae non est hoc, mihi crede, satis:

quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque disert

et redimunt soli carmina docta cocci!

nescioquid plus est quod donat saecula chartis:

victurus genium debet habere liber.

563-4 are then attached to the following section, sed qui in 563
being = "sed eum qui".

sed qui paene perit, cui uix in Cyclada mitti	563
contigit et parua tandem caruisse Seripho.	564
consulit ictericae lento de funere matris,	565
ante tamen de te Tanaquil tua, quando sororem	566
efferat et patruos, an sit uicturus adulter	567
post ipsam; quid enim maius dare numina possunt?	568

Following on the emendation of the punctuation of 561-2 suggested above, I would remove the full stop after Seripho. sed qui would then be = sed eum qui, eum being the understood object of consulit, and antecedent of qui and cui. (Cf. 413 where an awkward quae = eius quae has been corrupted to quod). After the climax of the pun in 562, Juvenal makes a fresh start on the same general theme - that women like to consult astrologers. In the first two lines, 563-4, the special theme of the last section, 557-62 - that astrologers who have been condemned enjoy the best reputation - lingers on, then fades away to give place to the main theme of 563-8, which is that what the woman wants to know is how soon her husband and relatives are going to die, and how long her lover is going to live.

The main point is made in the long period sed qui paene ... Tanaquil tua. First Juvenal expresses in ironical language - ironical in that it imitates the tone of praise which the woman would use in speaking of the great honours received by the distinguished astrologer by means of the adverbs paene, vix, tandem - how the astrologer was nearly put to death, had to make great efforts to be sent into exile instead of suffering a greater punishment, and spent a long term of exile on tiny Seriphos. After the relative clause of sarcastic praise comes the mock-sacral apodosis:

consulit ictericae lento de funere matris

mocking the solemnity of funerals. (For mock-sacral metrical and

word patterns, see Appendix IA, sections B, C. The solemnity of the verse clashes with its subject-matter and context to create a sarcastic effect. And then, in the continuation of the apodosis, the crowning sarcasm: the wife asks when the husband will die. The sarcasm expresses itself most forcibly in the last two words, Tanaquil tua. The original Tanaquil, see Liv. 1.34, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, foretold her husband's reign, but your Tanaquil will forecast your death. The sarcasm will have been the stronger on account of the fact that Tanaquil had come to be a model of conjugal virtue and loyalty, see Sen. de matrim. Haase 3.433:

mulieris virtus proprie pudicitia est. Haec Lucretiam
Bruto aequavit, nescias an praetulerit quoniam Brutus
non posse servire a femina didicit. Haec aequavit
Corneliam Graccho, haec Porciam alteri Bruto.
notior est marito suo Tanaquil; illum inter multa
regum nomina iam abscondit antiquitas; hanc rara
inter feminas virtus altius saeculorum omnium
memoriae quam ut excidere possit infixit.

Sil. Ital. 13.818-20:

vis et quos Tanaquil vultus gerat? haec quoque castae
augurio valuit mentis venturaque dixit
regna viro et dextros agnovit in alite divos.

There is, however, a further point in the reference to Tanaquil. In Livy 1.39 Tanaquil foresees that Servius Tullius will be

lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque
regiae adflictae.

And this prophecy comes true in Livy 1.41 when Tarquinius Priscus is murdered and Servius Tullius tricks the people into accepting him as king, in accordance with the wishes of Tanaquil. Juvenal is surely

referring here to this second prophecy of Tanaquil's, of her husband's death, although Tanaquil did not make this prophecy directly.

After the climax in Tanaquil tua Juvenal continues his enumeration of what the wife will ask the astrologer, contrasting her eagerness for her relations to die with her keenness that the adulterer should live long, even outlive herself. The enumeration leads to the exclamation quid enim maius ... possint which sums up the passage and allows us to pass from this theme to the following which is concerned with another kind of astrological maniac, who does not herself consult astrologers, but is herself an expert in the art. I do not think there is anything wrong with the text here to warrant Nisbet's suggested remedy (JRS 52 (1962) 235) that 568 should be deleted.

haec tamen ignorat quid sidus triste minetur	569
Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro,	570
quis mensis damnis, quae dentur tempora lucro:	571
illius occursus etiam uitare memento,	572
in cuius manibus ceu pinguis sucina tritas	573
cernis ephemeridas, quae nullum consulit et iam	574
consulitur, quae castra uiro patriamque petente	575
non ibit pariter numeris reuocata Thrasylli.	576

Juvenal does not leave his theme: the superstitious female. He presents a new facet: the woman who, not content to consult astrologers, herself practises astrology. This new section on the same theme is introduced by means of a contrast: haec tamen ignorat. While, syntactically, the satirist is still talking of the first woman, thematically he is already concerned with the second kind of woman, whose introduction in 572 illius occursus ... is a purely formal one. In effect the first woman is pushed out of consideration by the negative force of ignorat. In haec ... lucro and illius ... Thrasylli we are looking at the same kind of person. Haec tamen ignorat is purely a link-phrase which allows the satirist to pass from the first type of woman to the second without break in continuity.

After the thematically irrelevant haec tamen ignorat, first the woman's knowledge of astrology is expressed in a pair of indirect questions, quid ... Saturni, quo ... astro, perfectly balanced, each containing eleven syllables, and the first containing a striking onomatopoeic effect, sidus triste minetur Saturni. Contrasting with the evil influence of Saturn, the favourable influence of Venus: (for Venus as a favourable planet, and Saturn as unfavourable, see Lucan, 1.650-4; 660-2; Cic. de div.1.85; Ov. Ibis, 209-14). quo ... astro means "in conjunction with what star, or sign of the Zodiac, Venus"

appearance is favourable". But there is perhaps an irreverent reference here to the beginning of the first book of Lucretius' poem, where Venus is invoked as being responsible for Nature's fertility, and after painting an impressive picture of the fecundity brought about by Venus, the poet follows it up with a picture of a love-scene between Venus and Mars. quo ... astro, I am suggesting, contains a double-entendre; laeta, in addition to 'favourable' also means 'fruitful'; and the answer to quo ... astro with laeta in this second sense is Marte. This is a very tentative suggestion. And after the first pair of indirect questions, another pair in which is expressed the woman's knowledge of when to expect gain and when loss; the astrological jargon initiated in 569-70 is sustained in mensis, which means a sign of the zodiac, see V. G. 1.32-5:

anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit)

335-7:

hoc metuens caeli mensis et sidera serva,
frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet,
quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis.

and see Servius ad loc. See also Manilius 2.202. Balancing mensis in the second of this pair of indirect questions is tempora, which is a counterpart only to the time-measuring meaning of mensis. So, there is an element of verbal play in the correspondence mensis/tempora in an astrological context. Verbal virtuosity is also in evidence in the alliterations of quis mensis damnis, dentur tempora lucro; and the rhyme astro/lucro.

In 572, illius occursus etiam ... Juvenal formally introduces the kind of woman whom he has been talking about since 569. We are to avoid even meeting that kind of woman. (etiam modifies occursus; illius is in antithesis to haec; and we have not been told to avoid haec. So it would make nonsense to say "avoid a meeting with illam also"). That woman is then characterized in three relative clauses, each of which makes a humorous point about her:

(1), women rubbed amber balls in their hands to make them smell sweetly; cf. M. 3.65. 5-6:

quod myrtus, quod messor Arabs, quod sucina trita,
pallidus Eoo ture quod ignis olet;

also 11. 8.6; 5.37.11; Ov. Met. 2.364-6; J. 9.50.

In this woman's hands you will not find sucina trita as in Martial's woman's hands; you will find tritas ephemeridas. The long Greek word (the practice is thus stigmatized as being foreign), the climactic word, comes at the very end.

(2), she does not consult astrologers, but has reached the point where she is now the one that is consulted by others, the important word, consulitur, is kept for the end, and emphasized by enjambement.

(3), she is such a slave to her astrological beliefs that she will not perform the most elementary of her conjugal duties. While her husband goes off to fight for the fatherland, she will not accompany him part of the way, because her horoscope, as drawn up by Thrasyllus, prevents it. Again, the Greekish proper name, bearing all the contempt of the section, is the last, in contrast with the picture of heroic patriotism of the husband going off to the wars to fight like a good Roman for Rome. In this context, patriamque cannot be right. The sarcastic effect of this last clause depends on the contrast between the Roman patriotism of the husband, and the Greek-induced vice of the woman who

is under the influence of the astrologer Thrasyllus. To make the husband be non-Roman or out of Rome at the moment would, in the first case, be exactly the opposite of what we want, in the latter case, entirely irrelevant. Patriam ought to be replaced by a word implying patriotism.

ad primum lapidem uectari cum placet, hora	577
sumitur ex libro; si prurit frictus ocelli	578
angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit;	579
aegra licet iaceat, capiendo nulla uidetur	580
aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris.	581

In three pairs of clauses, the satirist deals with the peculiarity of the woman who will take no action without consulting her horoscope. In all three pairs of clauses, ad primum ... libro, si prurit ... poscit, aegra licet ... Petosiris, we have a conditional or quasi-conditional clause followed by a main clause. Juvenal shuns monotony by varying the form of the protasis and having in the first a cum-clause, in the second a si-clause, and in the third licet +subjunctive. The first clause sets the theme, plainly and without frills. In the second, Juvenal introduces a little rhetorical ornament; there is more than enough evidence that a common form of divination in the ancient world was the interpretation of involuntary spasms of parts of the body, the eyelids being commonly mentioned in this connection. See Isid.

Etym. 8.9.29:

salisatores vocati sunt quia dum eis membrorum
quaecumque partes salierint, aliquid exinde sibi
prosperum seu triste significare praedicant.

Theoc. 3.37:

ἡμεῖς ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν ὁ δεξιός· ἄρ' ἔτι ἰδύμεν
αὐτὰν;

Plaut. Pseud. 105-7:

tibi inventum esse auxilium argentarium.
atque id futurum unde unde dicam nescio
nisi quia futurum est; ita supercilium salit.

Souda, s.v.

Herm. Trism. (in Abh. Berl. Ak. 1907, p. 42, 3, 4)

Melampus, περὶ παλμῶν (in Abh. Berl. Ak. 1907, 4.22 § 18-28)

Eustathius Macremblites or Eumathius, 9.4

See articles by C.E. Ruelle, Rev.Phil. 32.137, and by Samuel Grant Oliphant, AJP. 31. 203; Halliday, Greek Divination, p. 172.

Therefore, when Duff writes "This has no reference to divining by twitching of the eyes or the eyebrows often mentioned elsewhere: the meaning is that she will not apply the simplest remedies for the smallest ailments without the sanction of the planets", he is both right and wrong. Wrong in that there can be no doubt that Juvenal is referring to the type of divination mentioned by Duff, but right in his interpretation of the general purport of the attack. It is the method which Duff has failed to grasp. The woman's eyelid itches. (Juvenal does not say that it twitches, but anyone who has suffered from a twitching eyelid knows that the temptation to rub it is irresistible). Like a good believer in divination, she makes for her book on horoscopic lore. We await the outcome, and it is bathetic: she puts on some eye ointment. Juvenal's point is, as Duff says, that the woman has to consult her horoscope before applying the simplest remedy. But this meaning is achieved not by a straightforward statement - as Duff would believe - but by the rhetorical effect of bathos in collyria poscit. This nice intellectual play which gives depth and interest to the thought ought not be levelled down to a platitudinous statement, as it tends to be by editors and translators. In the third movement, a point of another kind: the woman is ill. We expect her and her regimen to be under the care of a doctor; instead it is to her astrology that she turns. Petosiris = her book on astrology, being the equivalent of libro, genesi, in the first and second movements

respectively. Here the name of the archetypal astrologer, Petosiris, is used (see Plin. NH. 7.160, 2.88, A.P. 11. 164) so that the section can end with the resounding proper name, and the verse with an Ionic word u u - -. (For this last effect, see Appendix IA, example 116).

si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrinque	582
metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque	583
praebebit uati crebrum poppysma roganti.	584
diuitibus responsa dabit Phryx augur et inde	585
conductus, dabit astrorum mundique peritus	586
atque aliquis senior qui publica fulgura condit.	587
plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum.	588

In 569-81 Juvenal having contrasted the woman who is merely the victim of quacks with the woman who is herself knowledgeable in astrology has gone on to describe a woman whose every action is controlled by astrology. In 582-91 we have another contrast, between the rich superstitious woman and the poor superstitious woman. The transition is awkward to make. To make it explicit Juvenal needed to have expressed something like "I have been talking about the woman who is so superstitious that she must consult the astrologer before she does anything at all. I am now going on to draw a contrast between the poor superstitious woman and the rich superstitious woman". But Juvenal does not mark out the transition in this way; he glosses it over, carrying the listener with him unawares; and this is how he does it: we get in 577-81 what are in effect three conditional clauses, vectari cum placet ... si prurit ... aegra licet iaceat ..., followed by an apodosis describing some superstitious act. Juvenal continues this syntactical rhythm: in 582ff. we get a conditional clause followed by the description of a superstitious act. So we are led along, not realizing that we are being presented with a new movement of the argument, the first part of a contrast. Si mediocris is then picked up by the contrasting divitibus in 585, and the contrast concludes with the epigrammatic 588, in which the satirist again returns to the poor.

The first part of the section, 582-4, what could be called the introductory protasis⁺ apodosis contains a climax of its own in line 584, which, in derision of the woman's superstition, is constructed on the V A B B A scheme, (for which, see Appendix IA, example 150). And, as we expect in these mock-grand lines, we have the clash of the solemn and the ridiculous: the solemn tone, the solemn vates, and the ridiculous picture of the woman making popping sounds with her lips. For the magic properties of the poppysma see Plin. NH. 23.25, and Arist. Gasps, 626-8.

The mock-religious in the climax of 584 is prepared for by all the religious practices described in 583-4 - the drawing of lots, the examination of hands and forehead, (for which see Duff), and the word lustrabit itself is probably chosen for its religious connotations.

Then, in 585, starts the contrasting description of the rich superstitious woman. We have three types of soothsayer mentioned; the Phrygian; the one who foretells the future by observing the stars and planets; and the one who gathers together and buries what thunder has struck, and so sets up a bidental. Such a priest would presumably be able also to explain what was portended by the thunderbolt. Cf. Plin. NH. 2.138-46.

Publica fulgura are thunderbolts which have significance for a whole city or state, while the significance of privata fulgura only extends to private individuals. The distinction between the two types is drawn in Plin. NH. 2.139, and Sen. NQ. 2.48. There is of course derision in Juvenal's description of the priest: "and some oldish man who buries the public thunders".

With this exotic and high-class augury is contrasted in a one-line pithy epigram the augury with which the poor superstitious woman must be contented. Plebeium fatum means strictly "the soothsaying

for plebeians", to be parallel to responsa in 585; but it also clearly carries the second meaning "the destiny of plebeians", "a plebeian fate". In positum est also is to be found different shades of meaning: that the plebeian destinies "depend on" "are founded on" the agger and the circus, (cf. L & S. s.v. pono, II B 1 ad fin.), is an unescapable implication of the phrase to contrast with the fate of the rich which depends on celestial phenomena. And yet its literal meaning, "is set down" is also undoubtedly present. The last two soothsayers for rich people we looked at were concerned with the heavens, dabit astrorum mundique peritus, publica fulgura condit. But the poor woman's lot is not up there in the sky but down on the ground in the circus and on the agger. The epigrammatic ending in 588 is now seen to contain a display of verbal fireworks which no editor points out and no translator tries to bring out.

Like Knoche, I would follow Housman and indicate a lacuna after 585. The text, as printed by Clausen, is meaningless.

quae nudis longum ostendit ceruicibus aurum	589
consulit ante falas delphinorumque columnas	590
an saga uendenti nubat caupone relicto.	591

Juvenal then ends the topic by expanding in three lines on plebeium fatum, a plebeian fate; for the lowliness of the events about which the woman consults the astrologer is the main point of the three-line conclusion. The idea that a plebeian fate lies in the circus is repeated in falas delphinorumque columnas. (For falae, see TLL, especially Serv. ad V.A. 9.702; for delphinorum columnae, see Daremberg, Saglio, s.v. circus, where there are illustrations of the dolphins used to count the laps in the chariot-races, and of the columns supporting them). But the point is in the last line where Juvenal neatly and humorously balances the two choices - equally paltry - about which the woman consults the soothsayer: nubat is separated by two strong caesuras from the two rivals

an saga uendenti nubat caupone relicto

and the two halves of the line on each side of nubat are equal in the number of syllables that they contain and in quantity:

- u u - - - - - - - u u - -

589 is a puzzle, and is almost certainly corrupt. It is clear that 589-91 are about a poor woman. But 589 as it stands cannot be made to yield (pace Friedlaender, Madvig (II)), a general description of a woman of the lower classes. Housman (I) pinpoints the offending word: "aurum nondum explicatum". If, then, 589 cannot be made to yield a general description of a woman of the lower classes, can it be made to yield the description of a particular type of woman of the lower classes? In this case of a woman working in a tavern?

I suggest tentatively that we read

quae nudis longam ostendit cervicibus urnam

to describe the taverner's wife, (of the caupo whom she is proposing to leave), who would carry the urn of wine, and be lightly dressed to attract the clientele. Cf. 8.160-2:

Idymaeae Syrophoenix incola portae

hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat

et cum venali Cyane succincta lagona.

The mistake aurum might have been caused by the natural expectation of a contrast with 588, and longam would then have been changed to longum to agree with aurum. We would then have in

quae nudis longam ostendit cervicibus urnam

a V A B B A line which fitted into the pattern of usage of these lines in Juvenal (see Appendix IA, section I): it would be a mock-grand verse with humorous emphasis, quaintly expressed, on size, and mock the humble taverner's wife's efforts to set off her merchandise; for longus in a humorous description, cf. longo galero, 8.208.

hae tamen et partus subeunt discrimen et omnis	592
nutricis tolerant fortuna urgente labores,	593
sed iacet aurato uix ulla puerpera lecto.	594

592-4 is the transition passage between the two topics "women and astrology" and "women and abortion". The last section on the general topic "women and astrology" had as its subject a poor woman consulting an astrologer about changing her husband. Husband prompts the thought "marriage", and the flow of thought from marriage in 591 to child-bearing in 592 is natural. Moreover, in the passage 582-91 Juvenal has been contrasting poor women and rich women, there in the context of astrology. In 592-4 he continues contrasting poor women and rich women, but in the context of child-bearing. These two elements make the transition to the present passage operate smoothly.

592-4, paraphrased, runs thus: these poor women - typified by the poor tavern-keeper's wife I have just been talking about - may change husbands, but they have enough virtue to have children and rear them. But rich women hardly ever have children. This expresses the run of thought of the Juvenal. But it is not the thought but the manner of its expression that is interesting. First, the generalities of the first part of the contrast are replaced in the second part by the vivid aurato lecto. This ends the section with an easily-visualised picture, a verse that flashes an image before the eye. In addition to being vivid, the picture is humorous. The grandeur of wealth is symbolized by the aurato lecto and the V A B B A pattern of the verse, (see Appendix IA, section E). This grandeur is mocked by the low context of childbirth and the sexual reference, (for which see below). Aurato lecto in the second part of the contrast is in response to fortuna urgente in the first; and vix ulla puerpera to partus discrimen

and nutricis labores. Fortuna urgente therefore modifies both parturition and lactation in the first part of the contrast; it is because Fortune presses that they must bear children and breast-feed them. Translations tend to make fortuna urgente modify only nutricis tolerant labores. We can understand why Juvenal mentions parturition and lactation: because (quite apart from the danger, which is specifically mentioned), he wants to hint at both reasons why the rich coquettes would not want to bear children: it would spoil the smoothness of their bellies; it would make their breasts sag. Cf. Ov. A. 2.14. 7-8; Prop. 2.15.21-2.

Once we are aware that coquetterie is behind the unwillingness to have children and breast-feed them (and it is this same theme which Juvenal has in mind when he contrasts the big breast-feeding woman and her udders in l.9 with the Cynthias and the Lesbians), we can understand better why it was that Juvenal emphasized the aurato lecto: in an aurato lecto you will find a rich coquette; and she won't be in that bed for puerperal reasons. I have had to use many words to point out the sexual undertones. In Juvenal it is all much more subtle; but undeniable.

tantum artes huius, tantum medicamina possunt,	595
quae steriles facit atque homines in uentre necandos	596
conducit.	597

Continuing the theme of abortion, we have a section of 2+ lines ending in a boutade:

atque homines in ventre necandos
conducit.

The abortionist receives a sum of money in return for which she gives the woman a drug which will cause abortion. Juvenal has expressed this in his particular way; poisoners were fairly common in Rome, and they are certainly so in satire. In Juvenal only cf. 1.69; 13.154. Also, Cic. pro Clu. 40. Juvenal here talks of the abortionist as if she were a poisoner, but a different kind of poisoner who kills her victims ... in the womb: "so powerful are the drugs of the woman who makes wives sterile and is hired to kill men in the womb".

We have here a device commonly used by Juvenal: a plain statement, steriles facit, followed by a synonymous phrase, saying the same thing in a humorous and striking way. It is this peculiarity of expression, this peculiar way of looking at the abortionist, that gives atque ... conducit point, makes it a sententia.

gaude, infelix, atque ipse bibendum	597
porrige quidquid erit; nam si distendere uellet	598
et uexare uterum pueris salientibus, esses	599
Aethiopis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres	600
impleret tabulas numquam tibi mane uidendus.	601

After his attack on the abortionists, Juvenal makes a sudden volte-face and urges the husband to rejoice that abortionists exist, nay more, to give the drug to his wife himself. The reason is that wives are unfaithful, and if they did bear children the chances are that the child would be an Aethiopian's - a slave's - rather than the husband's. The volte-face is meant to strike a sarcastic note, and the note of humour is then sustained in the description of the pregnant woman, swelling out her womb, and harassing it with leaping children. This is a mocking portrait of the discomforts of child-bearing, a state idealized by moralizing authors. (See, e.g. Seneca, ad Helv. de cons. 16. 3-4; note on 9). This humorous picture is followed by another one: the wife's infidelity is revealed: the child is black. The surprise comes in enjambement.

Juvenal now makes a quick change of setting, going from a birth scene to a context of will-making. This shift in scene is effected so that the passage can end with a piece of humorous literary jeu: editors explain the ancient superstition, that it was bad luck to meet a black man at the start of something, an enterprise, or a day, cf. Plut. Brut. 48. SHA. Sept. Sev. 22. But why is Juvenal at pains to establish so firmly the context of inheritance? It could be answered that he does so to emphasize the irony of the situation: the husband leaves all his money to a person whom he has to avoid in the morning. But I think another dimension is intended in the

humour of this ending. The references to inheritance and will-making point to a satirical commonplace, that of legacy-hunters. They are commonly said to accompany their chosen victim throughout the day, and, more closely relevant to our context, to be ready to greet him early in the morning. See H.S. 2.5. 15-20; Tac. Dial. 6:

quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates nato quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi sed sibi ipsi dari? ... iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species!

Lucian, Dial. Mort. 19 (9) 2:

καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ θύρας ἐφοίτων πολλὰ
πολλοί, μετὰ δὲ παντοῖα μοι δῶρα προσήγετο
ἐπανταχόθεν τῆς γῆς τὰ κάλλιστα

M. 9.100. 1-4:

denaris tribus invitas et mane togatum
observare iubes atria, Basse, tua,
deinde haerere tuo lateri, praecedere sellam
ad vetulas tecum plus minus ire decem ...

J. 3.128-30:

cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet.

The rich men are traditionally flattered to have so many prospective heirs on their doorstep in the morning. But this one would do everything to avoid the sight of his heir in the morning.

The common superstition and the humorous reference to the literary commonplace come together in mane videndus, which ends the passage on

a clever literary joke. And this, I believe, is the reason for the change of setting from childbirth to inheritance.

transeo suppositos et gaudia uotaque saepe	602
ad spurcos decepta lacus, saepe inde petitos	603
pontifices, salios Scaurorum nomina falso	604
corpore laturos.	605

The spurcos lacus are the water tanks, and I assume (with Friedlaender, Duff) that they were the traditional place where mothers would leave unwanted children, and those who did not want to bear children would find one to pass off to the father as his heir.

Juvenal is still on the same subject: noble women are unwilling to have children of their own. His new point, which he clearly marks off as a structural digression by transeo ... (see note on 610-2), is that, as a result of this unwillingness, they pass off changelings found at the water tanks to the unsuspecting father. Those changelings are described three times, the three descriptions forming the three cola of an ascending tricolon, suppositos, gaudia votaue ... lacus, saepe inde ... laturos. Each colon enlarges on the preceding and makes it more specific.

The first two simple cola are followed by a more complex one in which, to the syntactically complete saepe ... pontifices, is added a phrase, salios ... laturos, in apposition to pontifices. It is this last phrase which constitutes the concluding sententia of the development. The changelings, coming into noble families, become pontifices. Then it is specified that they will become salios. Those salii will be in a family that is now specified as that of the Scauri. And they will bear the name of Scauri on an untrue body. The expression falso corpore is slightly odd. It is not strictly their body that is false, untrue, deceiving, it is their name, Scaurus. I would argue that this slightly odd expression is deliberately so, and that it is used to clinch a jeu-de-mots: the priests are salios, leaping or dancing priests; they are called Scauri, i.e. men with twisted ankles;

they bear that name on a false body, because their body, not being furnished with twisted ankles, gives the lie to their name. So, pontifices become the specific salios, leaping priests, to prepare for the word-play. The noble family into which the changeling is introduced is specified as being the family of the Scauri also to prepare for the word-play, and the odd expression falso corpore, especially since it has attention drawn to it by the enjambement falso/corpore, clinches the word-play.

The word-play is gratuitous, in the sense that it does not contribute to nor follow upon the subject-matter of what precedes. It stands on its own as a piece of verbal brilliance, a clever epigram.

The clever epigram would appear even more clever to the literary connoisseurs who would see a reference to the passage of Horace's Satires where the satirist deals playfully, like Juvenal here, with Roman cognomina; Hor. S. 1.3.44-8:

strabonem

appellat paetum pater, et pullum male parvus

si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim

Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus; illum

balbutit scaurum, pravis fultum male talis.

There is a similarity of context between the Horace and the Juvenal: both passages are concerned with a doting father naming a son. In Horace the father calls his son Scaurus to gloss over his corporal defect; and, it is implied, the name then becomes an established cognomen. In Juvenal we start at the other end: Scaurus is an established cognomen, and the father naturally gives it to his son. But the child is not his; and his body, being unblemished, betrays this fact, and the name he bears.

stat Fortuna improba noctu	605
adridens nudis infantibus: hos fouet omni	606
inuoluitque sinu, domibus tunc porrigit altis	607
secretumque sibi mimum parat; hos amat, his se	608
ingerit utque suos semper producit alumnos.	609

In 605-9 Juvenal presents us with a scene in which personified Fortune is seen picking up an exposed child, offering it to a noble house, and setting the scene for a mime which she alone will enjoy; she loves these abandoned children, forces her favours upon them, and brings them up/honours and exalts them/as her own alumni. I find it hard to believe that Juvenal, fond as he is of word-play, wrote producit here without being fully aware that both its meanings, as indicated above, were apt in the context, and without meaning it to be taken in both senses.

I would like to argue that the meaning of those five lines has not been fully appreciated by scholars, the reasons for this being that (a) they have not pondered enough the meaning and significance of the word alumnos, and (b) that they have not tried to relate the last sentences, hos amat ... alumnos with what precedes.

(a) Editors assume that alumnos is here equivalent to filios.

Indeed, most of them are content to refer the reader to Hor. S.2.6.49 and Petronius 43 where the common idiom filius Fortunae occurs.

Another passage which they quote, Plin. NH. 7.43:

tu qui corporis viribus fidis, tu qui Fortunae munera
amplexeris et te ne alumnum quidem eius existimas sed
partum ...

and which I translate:

you who trust in your bodily strength, you who hold in
your arms the gifts of Fortune and consider yourself

not merely her foster son but her real son ... confirms rather than it infirms my view that the common idiomatic, almost colloquial, name for a man inordinately favoured by Fortune was filius Fortunae, the son of Fortune, and that when he uses the unusual appellation Fortunae alumnos here, and leaves the unusual word for the end of the verse and the section, where its effect would be most felt, Juvenal is up to some trick. Therefore, instead of accepting alumnos as being equivalent to and not much different from filios, I start wondering what alumnos could signify: alumnus, I find out on consulting TLL is almost a technical term, applied often to persons of servile status brought up as part of the family. The most detailed study of this meaning of the word is A. Cameron's "threptos and related terms etc...." quoted by Sherwin-White on Plin. Ep.10.65.1, who summarizes Cameron's conclusions in these terms :

"Cameron distinguishes three types: the ordinary free-born foster child, the adopted child, and persons of servile status. The latter may be either house-born slaves or as here "liberi ... educati". This third category were usually favourites brought up within the family of the dominus as companions to his legitimate children - hence called σύντροφος ".

And this leads us to look at two letters, one of Pliny himself, the other of Trajan.

Plin. 10.65:

magna, domine, et ad totam provinciam pertinens
quaestio est de condicione et alimentis eorum
quos vocant θρεπτοὺς.

Plin. 10.66.1:

quaestio ista quae pertinet ad eos qui liberi nati
expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitute
educati sint, saepe tractata est ...

I suggest that Juvenal wanted his audience at this point to think of the meaning of alumnus which threptos has in the two letters quoted. Obviously this is not the only meaning of alumnus. But since the meaning is a common one - as TLL, Cameron, and the two letters show - given the context in Juvenal, and if we imagine the voice-modulation and mimicry by means of which an accomplished reciter can point to the presence of a joke, Juvenal can easily have made his point. The point is simply the humorous reversal of a common situation: for a Roman, as we have seen, a common meaning of alumnus would be, as in Pliny, "a child, born free, then exposed, and brought up in slavery". But Juvenal has an alumnus of a different kind. In this context, alumnus = "a child, born in a lower-class family, exposed, and brought up as a noble in a noble family".

The point is subtle, but Juvenal prepares us for it. He engineers a context in which we expect the common expression Fortunae filios, then, at the very last minute he changes one word, substituting alumnos for filios, and so sets us thinking. And once we start thinking, we should be able to see the point. Juvenal's preparation goes back even further; and I now come to point (b). His secretum sibi mimum points forward to the joke: we know too little about mime-plots to generalize about them, and for all we know mimum may be used here vaguely to cover any kind of comic performance. Mime plots and comedy plots are mentioned in one breath in J. 5.157-8; Q. 4.2.53; it is in the plots of comedies that we find a clue to the link between secretumque sibi mimum parat and what follows:

In a great number of comedies, the plot can be reduced to this: a child of free parents is lost, (captured by pirates, etc.). It is brought up in slavery (by a leno often). At the end of the comedy its identity and real status are discovered and it is reunited with its parents.

That child is an alumnus in the sense we found in Trajan's letter. Its adventures and recognition provide us with a comedy plot which we all enjoy. Juvenal's particular alumnus provides a comedy plot too. It is born of base parents, is brought up as a child of noble parents. There is no recognition scene. Its real antecedents are never revealed: only Fortune enjoys the comedy.

We can now see the section as a whole: first, Fortune, personified, stands smiling upon the children. She wraps them up in the folds of her robe to keep them warm, and offers them to the noble houses. So far we have had a unified picture. Then we are told that she secretum mimum sibi parat. And there we prick our ears, asking ourselves: "What is this secretum mimum?" And we are kept in suspense until the very last word, alumnos, which starts us thinking "Why alumnos and not filios?" until both our questions are answered.

hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala uendit 610
 philtrea, quibus ualeat mentem uexare mariti 611
 et solea pulsare natis. 612

The new section, on aphrodisiacs, starts rather abruptly with hic ... hic ..., and in an author who usually pays attention to his transitions, this may appear odd. Closer examination reveals the articulation of the passage: at 595, Juvenal introduces the subject of drugs, the drug in question there being an abortion-producing one. At 610 he returns to the subject of drugs - now of aphrodisiacs. At 627 he comes to another kind of drug - poison. Then at 643 he talks of the murderous nature of women in general, ending the section, and the satire, with another reference to drugs. The lines 602-9 were a digression. The subject of abortion-drugs led him naturally to the subject of changelings. He marks that passage off as a digression by means of transeo suppositos At 609 the digression ends and the repeated hic ... hic ... drags us back to the subject of drugs abandoned at 602.

The first three lines lead to a comic final picture and a neat epigram, mentem vexare being set side by side with pulsare nates, the sounds of the one being echoed in the other, vexare/pulsare, mentem/nates; and the abstract picture of vexare mentem giving way to the vivid and concrete picture of solea pulsare nates: "which gives her the power to disturb her husband's mind and ... beat his backside with a slipper".

A crisp and vivid epigram that defies translation.

quod desipis, inde est,	612
inde animi caligo et magna obliuio rerum	613
quas modo gessisti.	614

Two link lines joining what precedes to the quasi-historical development to follow, rhetorically charged to prepare for the tamen hoc tolerabile which introduces the next section. The rhetorical build-up is undercut by the irony of magna obliuio, an unnatural expression, and humorous in that it is a conscious rhetorical exaggeration and meant to be taken as such. It caps the more usual, but still picturesque expression animi caligo: "Thence it is that you lose your good sense, thence the darkness in your mind and great forgetting of things recently done". Cf. Labriolle et Villeneuve's "oubli complet"; Ramsay's "blank forgetfulness". P. Green's "gross amnesia" is slightly better. There is not indeed much point in these three lines, which are merely a connecting section, but there is a little more picturesque and spirit than translations allow.

tamen hoc tolerabile, si non	614
<u>semper</u> aquam portas rimosa ad dolia, semper	614 A
istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis,	614 B
quo rabidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti.	614 C
et furere incipias ut auunculus ille Neronis,	615
cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli	616
infudit.	617

614A-614C I take to be Juvenal's (quis enim talia illaturus erat? asks Housman (I)) and I think that their peculiarity and difficulty point to their genuineness. Rather than emend 614B with Housman (istud to peius) I would emend 614C to

quod rabidum nostro Phalarim de rege creavit

The only word not supported by MS. reading is creavit and I offer it only exempli gratia. I believe that a third person gave way to a second person because of all the second persons in the proximity (portes, subeas, incipias) and this made a difficult passage even more difficult. The pattern seems to be that the husband's action is described in a sequence of two epic periphrases, referring to historical events (see pp. 28 - 34), in the course of which the identity of the person to whom the periphrases refer - Caligula - is only gradually revealed:

"yet this is bearable if you do not always carry water to cracked casks, always carry in urns that are themselves leaking that burden that made a raving Phalaris of our emperor, and begin to go frantic like that uncle of Nero's into whom Caesonia poured the whole forehead of a trembling foal".

First we are told that 'our king' became a Phalaris; then our king, we are told, was an uncle of Nero's; and the final identifying detail comes when we are told - or rather left to infer - that he was

the husband of Caesonia. The passage reads like a well-constructed whole. Moreover, we find in the epic periphrases the sign of Juvenal's style. The humour and sarcasm of the second of these periphrases "into whom Caesonia poured the whole forehead of a trembling foal" is self-evident, even if translators obfuscate it:

Duff:

Into whose cup Caesonia poured the whole forehead
of a staggering foal.

Labriolle et Villeneuve:

cet oncle de Néron à qui Caesonia versa toute
l'excroissance du front d'un poulain encore mal
affermi sur ses pattes.

Ramsay:

That uncle of Nero's into whose drink Caesonia poured
the whole brow of a weakly foal.

P. Green:

the kind
of knock-out mixture Caesonia once brewed up
for her husband, Nero's uncle.

What is less evident is the humour in the treatment of the myth of the Danaids. Since the Danaids' offence was concerned with the non-compliance of women to their husbands on their wedding night, their punishment became connected with sexual non-compliance, see Horace, Odes, 3.11. 23-30; Tib. 1. 3. 79. In equating the husband's unquenchable sexual thirst with the punishment of the Danaids, Juvenal is not being entirely original. He is being original, however, in adding the humorous detail ipsis ... urnis. The Danaids' punishment was traditionally to fill a cracked cask. Juvenal has the husband filling a cracked cask with urns that are themselves leaking. This

purely gratuitous exacerbation is humorous in itself, and in the image it conveys of the urn-carrier being soaked as he carries the water to the cracked cask. It is this freedom in treating a myth to obtain a humorous effect that I find particularly Juvenalian; and I do not see that 614A-614C miris ambagibus sententiam involvunt, to quote Housman.

Analyzing 614-7 as a whole, we see that Juvenal starts with a transitional phrase: tamen hoc tolerabile ..., and then proceeds to tease the reader with an elaborate periphrasis in the epic style, in the course of which the identity of Caligula is slowly revealed. He is first referred to as being a sex-crazed Phalaris - the learned might remember Sen. de tranq.anim. 14.4, where Caligula is called Phalaris ille - then as an uncle of Nero, then finally as the husband of Caesonia. The periphrasis is in two parts: the first is enlivened by the humorous reference to and improvement on the myth of the Danaids, and by the last line on the V A B B A pattern, for which see Appendix IA, section D ; and the second part by the humorous way in which the administering of the hippomanes is referred to:

"into whom Caesonia poured the whole forehead
of a tremulous foal".

quae non faciet quod principis uxor?	617
ardebant cuncta et fracta conpage ruebant	618
non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum	619
insanum. minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae	620
boletus, siquidem unius praecordia pressit	621
ille senis tremulumque caput descendere iussit	622
in caelum et longa manantia labra salua:	623

A question, quae ...uxor? introduces the next section. At first the question seems to be a mere rhetorical trick, a link-line to introduce the description of the crumbling world and the comparison which occupy 618-20 ... insanum. But it is more than that; for to the question "what woman will refrain from doing what an emperor's wife did?" the two lines that follow offer an answer: "no one, not even Jupiter's wife". This answer is not expressed but it is clearly hinted at. For when we read "what woman will refrain from doing what the Princeps' wife did? (i.e. administering an aphrodisiac to her husband) The whole world broke up and fell just as if Juno had driven her husband mad," we are meant to ask ourselves, if our minds are alert, "can Juvenal be suggesting that Juno would give Juppiter an aphrodisiac?" And, of course, she did. Juvenal is referring to the well-known episode in book 14 of the Iliad where Juno borrows Aphrodite's girdle to seduce Juppiter on Mount Ida. Putting this in the form of a neat equation: the havoc caused by Caligula under the influence of Caesonia's aphrodisiac is as great as that which would have been caused by Jupiter if Juno's aphrodisiac - i.e. Aphrodite's girdle - had driven him mad (as it didn't).

The two lines yield more gold when further explored: "the sum of things burned and crashed down, its jointed mass loosened, just as would have happened if Juno had driven her husband mad."

I would maintain that an ancient audience reading those lines, and reading them with a mind questing for hidden meanings such as Juvenal expects in his audience, would see here a clear reference to the Stoic conflagration, when Zeus, i.e. the divine aether, destroys the world. See Arnold, pp. 190-193; and especially Cic. ND.1. 37-40:

Cleanthes autem ... tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse,
tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen,
tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusus et
extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui
aether nominetur, certissimum deum iudicat ...

(Chrysippus) disputat aethera esse eum quem homines
Iovem appellarent ...

Cic. ND. 2.118:

ex quo eventurum nostri putant id de quo
Panaetium addubitare discebant ut ad extremum omnis
mundus ignesceret ...

Sen. Ep. 9.16:

qualis est Iovis, cum resoluta mundo et dis in unum
confusis paulisper cessante natura adquiescit sibi
cogitationibus suis traditus ...

Sen. ad Marc. de consol. 26.6; Lucan, 1.72ff; Hor. O. 3.3. 1-8.

To sum up: in 617 Juvenal asks a question, which at first sight seems to hang in mid air. In 618 we have a picture of a general destruction, which seems to refer only to the havoc in Rome; and in 619-20, the last words, Iuno maritum insanum, refer back to the question at the beginning and lead us to notice the reference to the Iliad, and as the mind explores the implications of non aliter quam, the audience sees the reference to the Stoic conflagration: we could well have had a Stoic conflagration on that occasion described in

Iliad 14 if Juno's aphrodisiac, like Caesonia's, had had the wrong effect : this is what Juvenal humorously implies. Very little in this interpretation of the passage is entirely new. The reference to the Stoic conflagration was pointed out in 1685 by Henricus Christianus Henninius in his own spicilegia at the end of his editio variorum:

tralaticium est veteres quosdam statuuisse generali
combustione mundum fore peritum ... Huc etiam respicere
puto ex transverso Juvenalem ut deploret statum orbis
Romani sub tali Principe; sed et obiter more suo istam
philosophorum de exustione mundi ridet sententiam, dum
eam insano ac ab uxore potionato Iovi adscribit.

This interpretation is rejected by Ruperti, who also refuses to see a reference to the seduction scene in the Iliad:

fuere qui suspicarentur h.l. respici cingulum,
κεστὸν ἱμάτιον , Veneris. Huius tamen ope
Iuno maritum non insanum fecit sed in se amorem eius
incendit. Non magis probanda videtur haec Henninii
coniectura ac nota ...

I have not been able to discover to whom the fuere qui refers.

ll.620 minus ergo-623 are a short digression, in which Caesonia's crime is compared favourably with Agrippina's. The comparison is entirely artificial, and only serves to introduce here a humorous cameo of Claudius's death and deification. The humour is set off by the intricate composition: the grand spondaic ending (for which see Appendix IA, example 47) Agrippinae, the hyperbaton unius ... senis, the postponed ille, the genitive unius senis belonging to praecordia and caput, and the separation of tremulum caput from longa ... saliva by descendere ... caelum which belongs to both. The deification of Claudius is derided by the in caelum in enjambement

where we expect ad inferos or some such phrase - what we miss reminding us that Claudius did end up in the lower world according to the Apocolocyntosis. The boletus is (humorously) pictured pressing hard against Claudius' midriff.

The physical deformities of the emperor (for which, see commentaries) culminate in the poetically phrased picture longa manantia labra saliva, which receives special emphasis by being placed last, separated from tremulum caput (see above). Juvenal uses the intricate devices of the involved grand style to debunk the deification of Claudius. The detail of the salivating mouth, humorous in an immediately obvious way, may also be meant to convey humour of a more literary kind, by reminding us of another very striking picture of an imperial mouth in a context of deification, cf. Hor. O. 3.3. 9-12:

hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
 enisus arces attigit igneas
 quos inter Augustus recumbens
 purpureo bibet ore nectar

haec poscit ferrum atque ignes, haec potio torquet, 624
 haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres. 625
 tanti partus equae, tanti una uenefica constat. 626

After the effect of Agrippina's mushroom, Juvenal returns to Caesonia's aphrodisiac describing its effects in a tricolon (624-5). The tricolon is knit together not only by the anaphora of haec, but by words common to two or more cola being only expressed in one: potio is common to all three; patres is the object of torquet as of lacerat, joining 2 and 3. This elaborate diction and the personification of potio which is made to perform all of these cruel acts which seem incongruous rather than horrible when they are performed by a drink, give the tricolon a curious mock-solemn air. Likewise, the intricate and recherché diction of the third colon haec lacerat mixtos equitum cum sanguine patres which appears to be a poetic variatio for patres mixtos cum equitibus is to be taken also literally of the mingling of patrician and equestrian blood, a gruesomely humorous double meaning: (1) equitum sanguine: 'descendants of equites'
 (2) equitum sanguine: literally, 'blood of equites'. Since equitum sanguine is parallel with patres, sense (1) is suggested. But as the patres are mixtos with equitum sanguine, mixtos suggests sense (2). Juvenal makes with a pun the same point which is made plainly by Suet. Cal. 26; Sen. de ira, 3.18. 3:

Gaius Caesar Sextum Pompeium cui pater erat consularis,
 Betilienum Bassum, quaestorem suum, procuratoris sui
 filium, aliosque et senatores et equites Romanos uno
 die flagellis cecidit, torsit, non quaestionis sed
 animi causa.

The tricolon is then capped by 626, which serves two purposes:

First, the partus equae (i.e. the hippomanes) in the first part serves as a point of comparison with the boletus, both objects equally outlandish and picturesque, but the hippomanes more terrible; secondly, venefica in the second part, which could appropriately mean one who dispenses an aphrodisiac as well as one who dispenses a poison, serves as a transition between this section, which is about aphrodisiacs, and the next, which is about poison.

oderunt natos de paelice; nemo repugnet,	627
nemo uetet, iam iam priuignum occidere fas est.	628
uos ego, pupilli, moneo, quibus amplior est res,	629
custodite animas et nulli credite mensae:	630
liuida materno feruent adipata ueneno.	631
mordeat ante aliquis quidquid porrexerit illa	632
quae peperit, timidus praegustet pocula papas.	633

From aphrodisiacs to poison, the two linked by venefica (see note on 626); first, in five verses, 627-31, Juvenal progresses to a climax, in three stages: a mistress's son; a former wife's son; the wife's own son; these three are poisoned, the crime getting worse at each stage. There are three clear and separate stages, and editors, e.g. Duff, do not make this clear enough. Duff, for example, takes the natus de paelice and the privignum to be the same; this goes against the Latin and is entirely unjustified. That there is a gradation in three stages was perceived as early as by Lubinus, and I do not understand why this was lost sight of or deliberately abandoned. Punctuation may have played a part in this. The punctuation above is that of Clausen. It is that to be found in modern texts, and less modern ones too. But to be preferred is the punctuation to be found in Lubinus:

oderunt natos de paelice: nemo repugnet,
 nemo vetet; iam iam priuignum occidere fas est;
 vos ego ...

according to which nemo ... vetet looks not forward to ... fas est, but back to oderunt ... paelice. We then have the tricolon: (1), they hate a mistress's son; that's natural; (2), it is now right to kill a stepson; (3), but a son I would like to save. With this punctuation both the anaphora of nemo and iam iam gain force, whereas if they all

belong to the same sentence they impede each other's effectiveness.

vos ego pupilli ...

In 629-31 Juvenal outlines a situation and allows the audience to piece together the rest of the story. The situation is a legal commonplace: the father names his son his heir. If the son dies before he is fourteen, i.e. while he is still in statu pupillari, who inherits? Fathers often named an heir to inherit in place of the son should this eventuality occur - the technical term is substitutio pupillaris (see Just. Inst. 2.16) and the whole of 28.6 of the Digest is devoted to this question. In this case - although it is nowhere stated - we are to assume that the mother has been 'substituted'. This is why she is concerned to kill her son while he is still a pupillus, i.e. while he is still under 14. See Just. Inst. 2.16.8:

masculo igitur usque ad quattuordecim annos substitui
potest, feminae usque ad duodecim annos.

Of the many examples of this legal question, Mag. 28.6.47 is quoted as containing an example of a mother inheriting by substitutio:

qui habebat filium et filiam impuberes instituto
filio herede filiam exheredavit et, si filius intra
pubertatem decessisset, filiam eidem substituit; sed
filiae, si antequam nuberet decessisset uxorem suam,
item sororem suam substituit. quaero cum filia
impubes prior decesserit, deinde frater eius impubes,
an filii hereditas ad uxorem et sororem testatoris
iure substitutionis pertineat.

See also Inst. 2.16.3 about the danger to the son from the heres substitutus.

The last stage is given extended treatment, with the warning occupying two verses and coming to an expectant end at the semi-colon.

The conclusion is then a sententia in the grand style, on the V A B B A pattern. (See Appendix IA, example 69). As usual, the grandiose form conceals the humorous intent, the down-to-earth adipata providing the clash with the solemn tone. Materno veneno, moreover, humorously suggests that the mother is a venomous animal. This humorous touch disappears in, e.g. Labriolle et Villeneuve's "le poison virulent préparé par une mère", Ramsay's "poison of a mother's baking".

Juvenal then rounds off the passage with a description of the mentor tasting the food and drink offered to the son by his mother. The first limb of the description, that concerned with food, is matter-of-fact except for the unusual and comical mordeat, but the vague aliquis of the first limb becomes in the second limb timidus papas, to give us the sententia:

timidus praegustet pocula papas

where the alliteration allied to the sense gives us this comical picture of the poor paedagogus timidly tasting the cup in fear of his life. The butt of our thoughtless humour is the poor paedagogus. This insouciance, this carefree brilliance, eschewing seriousness, I take to be characteristic of Juvenal. Characteristic too is the intellectual jeu involved in the juxtaposition and contrast of illa quae peperit and papas. We notice the similarity in sound of the repeated p; also that the real mother, (it must be said in passing that illa quae peperit does not mean that the mother has had another child, as some editors think; illa quae peperit = mater), and illa quae peperit emphasizes that she is the real mother, not a step-mother or foster-mother, prepares the poison for her son, and the son has to be protected by the papas, the 'father' who is not the 'natural' father but a paedagogus. Juvenal makes the point about parental feelings being

found in those who are not real parents in a detached and intellectual way. It is probably to obtain the alliteration and the intellectual jeu that the unusual papas is used.

fingimus haec altum satura sumente coturnum	634
scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum	635
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,	636
montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino?	637

In 634-7 Juvenal introduces a rhetorical objection: someone may accuse me of writing not satire (which, according to the rule laid down by those who wrote satire before me, should be concerned with incidents of everyday life) but tragedy, (which deals with mythological and Greek themes). For this contrast, see the beginning of the first satire.

Juvenal's statement implies the belief in the purely Roman origin of satire, a belief stated clearly enough by Quintilian 10.1.93 'satira quidem tota nostra est', although scholars have tried this interpretation and that of the phrase. There are really two parts to the objection: (a), the satirist should deal in reality and everyday life, not in imaginary myth, (b), the satire should be Roman, and not borrow from Greece themes worthy of the tragedies of Sophocles. The pleasure of the four lines is in their detail: (a) the comical picture of the personified satura - a rather fat lady? - perched on high buskins, (b), the grandiloquent line structured V A B B A, (see Appendix IA, example 70), in imitation of the grand tragic diction which Juvenal is repudiating. A structure which refers to, and points an accusing finger at the V A B B A of the mock-solemn 631. The mockery is indicated moreover by the typical use of grande (see Appendix IB, p. 79), and, in general, by the pseudo-tragic and comical diction: "we rave out a grand poem with wide Sophoclean mouth". (c), the mock-epic circumlocution to mean Italy, "montibus Rutulis caeloque Latino", well paralleled by the use of the same circumlocution in an equally mock-grand context in 12.102-4:

hic non sunt nec venales elephanti
 nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
 belua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
 arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro

where note the Ionic ending of elephanti, (see Appendix IA, example 11)
 followed by the humorously learned reference to Ethiopians in
furva gente (see Appendix 2, p.348) followed by the circumlocution.

While accusing himself of being too 'tragic', Juvenal imitates in
 derisive manner the grand style of poetry.

nos utinam uani. sed clamat Pontia 'feci,	638
confiteor, puerisque meis aconita parau,	639
quae deprensa patent; facinus tamen ipsa peregi'.	640
tune duos una, saeuissima uipera, cena?	641
tune duos? 'septem, si septem forte fuissent.'	642

"Would that this were merely pompous, high-sounding literature", says Juvenal. Nos ... vani is usually translated "would that this were an idle tale", which is not entirely right. Juvenal is answering the charge implicitly levelled against him in 634-7, that instead of writing satire, which deals with real events, he is writing tragedy, which is mere declamatory and bombastic falsehood. In addition to the sense 'empty, idle', vani has the sense 'high-sounding, bombastic'; it refers to the style as well as to the subject-matter.

Petr. 1:

nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo
strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut cum in forum venerint
putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos.

Q.12.10.17:

Attici limati quidem et emuncti nihil inane aut
redundum ferebant, Asiana gens tumidior alioqui et
iactantior vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata est.

Sen. Ep. 40.5:

adice nunc quod quae veritati operam dat oratio
incomposita esse debet et simplex: haec popularis
nihil habet veri. movere vult turbam et inconsultas
aures impetu rapere ... multum praeterea habet
inanitatis et vani, plus sonat quam valet.

And in Martial it is used in a context very similar to this one where everyday themes are being contrasted with the fantastic and bombastic

themes of epic. M. 10.4:

qui legis Oedipodem caligantemque Thyestem
 Colchidas et Syllas, quid nisi monstra legis?
 quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus et Attis,
 quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion?
 exutusve puer pinnis labentibus? aut qui
 odit amatrices Hermaphroditus aquas?
 quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae?
 hoc lege quod possit dicere vita 'meum est'.
 non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque
 invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.
 sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores
 nec te scire: leges Aetia Callimachi.

Juvenal has not left the subject of Tragedy v/s Satire. In 643 credamus tragicis ... picks up the theme again, which is continued to the end of the satire. Juvenal's reply to the accusation of being 'tragic' and not 'satirical', i.e. truthful and topical, is to produce Pontia. Attempts to identify this Pontia, who is also mentioned in Martial, are unconvincing, and pointless. All that we need to know about Pontia is stated in the text, namely, that she poisoned her sons.

The satirist dwells on her impudence and shamelessness. Not only did she poison her sons; she is proud of what she has done. This shamelessness is set out at the onset, first in her short speech, the last line of which, quae ... peregi, sometimes causes needless trouble. I would paraphrase the speech, reducing it to its simplest elements, thus: "I confess it, I poisoned my children; the poison has been detected; but it was I who committed the crime", the implication being: "you mustn't think that I shall try to deny that I was responsible for

the crime". The force of tamen is also best explained by paraphrase: "the poison has been detected; but you haven't detected this that I am telling you, that it was I who ...".

To analyze the short speech: we have here an outspoken confession, reinforced by the shamelessness of the contrast in 640, as just analyzed, which indicates that Pontia insists on being detected as the guilty party, so that she can boast of her crime.

It is again Pontia's shamelessness which is illustrated in the two lines following (641-2); in a short dialogue the vehemence of Pontia and the interlocutor is captured in the repetitions: tune duos, tune duos, septem, si septem; and in the defiant conclusion, si septem ... fuissent. But all this vehemence contains more than a little playfulness, as the satirist facetiously juxtaposes numbers in a mock-solemn tone: duos una, duos septem occurring in the same position in two successive verses. For a similar play on numbers, see 229-30 and note there.

credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide torua	643
dicitur et Procne; nil contra conor. et illae	644
grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus, sed	645
non propter nummos. minor admiratio summis	646
debetur monstris, quotiens facit ira nocentes	647
hunc sexum et rabie iecur incendente feruntur	648
praecipites, ut saxa iugis abrupta, quibus mons	649
subtrahitur cliuoque latus pendente recedit.	650

I translate 648-50 thus, as literally as possible: "and passion burning their liver they are carried away headlong like a rock torn off from a height, down from under which (the rock) the mountain speeds away, and away from which (quibus being again understood with recedit) the side (of the mountain) goes past on the sloping cliff-face".

This is an involved piece of Latin - deliberately so - but it nevertheless yields sense if sufficient thought and attention are devoted to it: quibus is to be taken apo koinou with subtrahitur and recedit: "abrupta saxa quibus mons subtrahitur et latus montis recedit". latus is the side of the mountain, and clivus pendens is but a different aspect of latus; it is the latus seen with its sheer-sloping incline. Instead of the rock rolling down the mountain-side, Juvenal describes the mountain-side so to speak running away from under the rock, thus emphasizing the speed of the rock's career down the cliff. This picture of the careering rock is effective and apt, while Housman's (I) beetling cliff is not:

significatur mons cuius summa pars magis promineat
quam inferiores, Anglice a beetling cliff; unde quae
cadunt saxa non per clivum volvuntur sed recta linea
ad terram praecipitantur.

Housman's picture of the rock falling straight down without touching

the cliff-face is inept in the context. Whereas the translation above describes a furious and speedy motion along the slope of the mountain, which is what is desired in the context. Translators and editors tend to follow Housman, although Friedlaender seems to have given the true meaning of the lines.

In 634-7 Juvenal had accused himself of being tragic, non-Roman, and untruthful, i.e. of not writing satire. The Pontia episode proves that one can be tragic and yet be truthful and be writing about Roman events. So, in 643 he absolves himself, and exhorts all to believe in what tragedians say about Medea and Procne - these killed their children like Pontia. He reaffirms this newly-acquired trust in tragedians a second time: nil contra conor; a third time: et illae ... temporibus. If Pontia did it in our day, then we can believe that they did it in their own day. And then, at the last word of the verse he checks himself, as he becomes aware, in mid-sentence, of an essential difference between these child-slayers of tragedy and Pontia: sed/non propter nummos. This is clever rhetoric: at temporibus the speaker checks himself as his thoughts go in a new direction. This point is lost if et before illae is not translated, and the flow between the third affirmation et illae and the second nil contra conor is interrupted by too strong punctuation. sed non propter nummos looks back to Pontia - who, we now assume, killed her children for money, and, beyond Pontia, to 629-33. We are still talking about women who kill their children for money.

Having established the theme - the contrast between the cold-blooded child-murderers of to-day and those of tragedy - Juvenal launches on an elaborate contrast between the two types, the cold-blooded murderers and the hot-blooded ones. The first part of the contrast runs from 646 minor ... 650; and the second part from 651-654.

In the first part of the contrast, Juvenal imitates the headlong fury of the woman who is the prey of passion in the rhythm of quotiens ... recedit, which runs on without end-stop.

There is also a literary point: Juvenal is talking about the kind of child-murderer we find in tragedy, and he conforms to the 'grand' style in employing here a prolonged epic simile, reminiscent of Homer, Iliad, 13.137, where Hector is described, and V.A. 12. 684-689, where Turnus is described in terms of the same simile. As he is still contrasting mythical tragic murderers of long ago with to-day's 'satirical' murderers, the epic simile in the grand style is employed with a clear imitatory purpose.

illam ego non tulerim quae computat et scelus ingens	651
sana facit. spectant subeuntem fata mariti	652
Alcestim et, similis si permutatio detur,	653
morte uiri cupiant animam seruare catellae.	654

We now have the second part of the contrast, in opposition to vv. 646 minor -650. The opening statement of this second part of the contrast, illam ... quae computat looks back to sed non propter nummos of 645-6, so that at this point it looks as if the satirist has organized his two contrasting pairs (et illae ... temporibus v/s sed non propter nummos, minor admiratio summis ... recedit v/s illam quae computat et sana facit) on a neat pattern that can be expressed as A v/s B A v/s B. But this is mere deception, for although, because of the context and intertwining of the themes as pointed out, the hearer thinks of computat as meaning 'counting money', and as referring to sed non propter nummos, i.e. to the theme of women who kill their children for money, which has been the theme of vv. 627 to the present passage, what follows shows clearly that computat is double-faced. Looking back, it means 'counts financial gains', 'thinks about gain'; looking forwards, it means 'calculate', without precise reference to financial gain. Financial gain does not figure in what follows. Making use of the shades of meaning of computat, Juvenal launches the satire in a new direction in the middle of an elaborate contrast; and he does this by following computat with a phrase that fits in with its second sense 'weighs the pros and cons': after weighing well all considerations she goes on with complete sang-froid to commit a huge crime. The crucial words, sana facit are emphasized by being placed in enjambement.

The theme, set out, is illustrated by a comparison with Alcestis.

The women of to-day are once more contrasted with the women of tragedy, but the point of comparison has now shifted. Before, the action of the two contrasted groups was the same (they both killed their children) but their state of mind was different; the women of tragedy were the prey of passion, the women of to-day cool-headed. Now, with the introduction of the Alcestis story, the mood of the two groups of women is the same - they are both cool and collected - but their actions are entirely dissimilar. This contrast is not explicit in the text, but it is difficult to believe that it is fortuitous. Rather, it is another example of Juvenal's intellectual playfulness. He sets tragedy against everyday life, hot-blooded murder against cold-blooded murder, and then allows our mind to follow out the further implications. When we stumble upon the meaning, we experience this intellectual pleasure that is the essence of the enjoyment of so much of this satire.

We notice also that Juvenal uses the Alcestis episode as the means of effecting another of his subtle transitions: from child-killing women to husband-killing women. The link between the two themes is 'tragedy'. The sequence goes: women of to-day kill their children (627-42); women in tragedy who killed their children contrasted with women of to-day who kill their children (643-50); deliberate action of a woman in tragedy contrasted with deliberate action of a woman of to-day: the former saved her husband's life, the latter would save her pet bitch at the expense of her husband's life (651-4). And from 654 to the end the theme of husband-killing wives, introduced in the Alcestis episode, is sustained by references to mythical husband-killers. So, while sustaining the contrast between women of myth and women of to-day, the satirist has passed from one type of murderer to another.

The women see on the stage (the word spectant being appropriate

to the genre of tragedy, not necessarily literal) Alcestis giving her life to save her husband's. But if they had a chance to perform a similar type of exchange, they would rather sacrifice their husband's life to save ... we expect a symmetrical contrast, and that the contrast will end with 'their own', or something approaching. Whence the particular force of catellae, 'their pet bitch', which is the more effective for coming in the place of a more normal contrast which we have been led to expect. Clever too in that the dog's gender keeps us within the context of the 'war of the sexes' that is being waged: Alcestis (female) gives herself for her husband (male). The woman of to-day gives her husband (male) for a bitch (female).

occurrent multae tibi Belides atque Eriphylae	655
mane, Clytemestram nullus non uicus habebit.	656
hoc tantum refert, quod Tyndaris illa bipennem	657
insulsam et fatuam dextra laeuaque tenebat;	658
at nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetae,	659

As pointed out in the last note, we have now left child-murderers, and, with the Alcestis episode serving as transition, have come to husband-murderers. The device of comparing women of tragedy, myth, with women of to-day is still used; we saw that in the Alcestis episode the action performed by a woman of tragedy in cold-blood was contrasted with that performed by a woman of to-day in cold-blood. Now the women of to-day, killing their husbands in cold-blood, are tacitly equated with women of tragedy who killed their husbands in cold-blood. The comparison of crimes of women of to-day with those of women of tragedy started with a comparison between child-murdering mothers. Through several contrasts, in which the woman of to-day was always shown to be morally worse than her counterpart in tragedy and myth, we come to the crime which even in mythical days was at its worst, in respect of which no progress in immorality could be made: husband-killing was a crime which even in those days of myth women committed in cold-blood. So, for that crime, present-day women are for the first time assimilated to, not contrasted with, women of tragedy.

As he is dealing with women of myth and tragedy, Juvenal signals this by the u u - - word Eriphylae at the end of 655. This is just a little fanciful trick of style, a little jest made en passant at the expense of tragic diction, the grand style. (See Appendix IA, example 6).

In vv. 655-6 Juvenal pictures an ordinary Roman leaving home in the morning on his way to his patron's house or the forum and meeting

in every street Danaids, Eriphylae, and Clytemnestras. Those two lines form one picture. The mane is put in to give an air of casualness to the description. This meeting with Danaids, Eriphylae, it implies, is the kind of thing that will happen to you every morning, in the course of the ordinary events of your life.

Having equated the husband-murderers of to-day with the husband-murderers of yesterday on the moral plane, Juvenal then contrasts them in 657-9 in the matter of technique. The techniques of murder have changed. (For refert = 'make a difference', see Duff.) Those of the past were gross; those of to-day delicate, elegant. Juvenal makes two points about the technique of husband-murderers of yesterday: it lacked wit and elegance, insulsam and fatuam referring of course not to the bipennis strictly but to the whole action; and it was done with a large instrument, this point being made in the description of the woman seizing the axe with left hand and right hand. In 659, which contains the description of the modern murderer's technique, imitating the elegance of the technique he is describing, the satirist picks up both these points and contrasts them with tenui pulmone rubetae. In opposition to the grossness and lack of wit of insulsa and fatua, tenuis has its sense of 'elegant, delicate, subtle' - the epithet being transferred, and referring not to pulmone only but to the whole action, as was the case with insulsam and fatuam. In opposition to the size of the axe which had to be held dextra laevaque, tenuis means simply 'small'.

sed tamen et ferro, si praegustarit Atrides 660
 Pontica ter uicti cautus medicamina regis. 661

Then comes the correctio. The women of to-day would indeed prefer to use subtle means to kill their husbands. But if they have to, they can be as unsubtle as their tragic counterparts. By means of this correctio Juvenal says, so to speak: 'but you must not think that, for all their subtlety, the women of to-day have lost the vigour and blood-lust of their tragic predecessors'.

The real interest in those closing lines is to be found in the whimsical intermingling of mythical characters. The son of Atreus makes a leap forward in time to drink the drugs of Mithridates. This whimsical treatment of myths - and the historicity of Mithridates was for Juvenal's audience no more apparent than Agamemnon's - is the culmination of the comparisons between mythical and modern times. It is of course quite clear what the sentence means: the husband of to-day who fears he will be poisoned by his wife drinks antidotes in anticipation as Mithridates did. By expressing this in the way he does, however, he leaves us with this whimsical picture of Atrides drinking the drugs before Mithridates!

The satire ends - taking ter uicti as one word - with a line on the grand pattern V A B B A, just as it started with a line on that pattern. It is to reinforce this impression of the grand that Pontica is used as a transferred epithet. Editors, e.g. Duff, rightly translate Pontica as qualifying regis. But the transferred epithet is used, not out of metrical necessity, (so Duff), but deliberately to fit in with the mock-grand tone of the line. (See Appendix IA, example 71).

APPENDIX IA

Some metrical features of grand poetry

The purpose of this Appendix is to show that the features examined were used in satire to elevate the tone, by mimicking an elevated tone of voice, in the great majority of cases, but not necessarily always, with a derisory intent. It is evident that this cannot be proved 'scientifically' and objectively: to recapture the tone of a lost voice, we must use our imagination to some extent. By gathering together here and placing in their contexts in as few words as possible examples of those features in Horace (Epistles and Satires), Persius, and Juvenal, I hope to convince the reader that I am not using my imagination in an unwarranted manner.

The features under discussion are four:

- (a) verses ending in a four-syllable word having the value $u\ u - \frac{u}{-}$
- (b) verses ending in a five-syllable word having the value $- u\ u - \frac{u}{-}$
- (c) verses with spondaic endings
- (d) what I call for short verses on the V A B B A pattern: that is, verses containing one verb (V) and two pairs AB, AB, of noun + adjective. The elements V, A, B, B, A, can occur in any order in the verse. I have decided, by trial and error, that short words introducing the verse, or linking it with what precedes (et, qui, etc.) can be disregarded, as can prepositions, or short adverbs (iam mater, ter victus) which go closely with one element of the AB pairs.

I have grouped all examples I could find of those features in 13 categories marked A to M. These categories are arbitrary in that the writers did not necessarily think in terms of such divisions, and in that some examples would fit into more than one category. There is

plainly a common area between some of the categories. Categorizing is merely an aid and a convenience. Within the categories A to M, I group the examples by author, starting with Juvenal, then going back to Persius and Horace. The evolution of the device may be seen in this way, as well as the differences in the way they are used by the different authors. I also separate (a), (b), (c), and (d) within the categories A to M.

I am in the debt of Dr. Gustav Eskuche (Juvenals Versbau, Chapter 3 of the introduction to Friedlaender's edition of Juvenal's Satires) who collected examples of (a), (b), and (c) in Juvenal and regarded them, as far as can be judged, very much as I do. I am surprised that his hints at the 'parodying' purposes of these features have been disregarded, especially by writers like I.G. Scott who have made a special study of the 'grand style' in Juvenal. Although I do not, in the course of this Appendix, give references to I.G. Scott's work, it will be evident that, starting from different points of view - I.G. Scott does not study the metrical and other features of the verse which are the subject of this Appendix - we come in a great number of cases to treat of the same passage in Juvenal, and our conclusions on the 'tone' of those passages are remarkably similar - except in one fundamental particular: Scott devotes a section of her work to 'serious imitation of Epic'; I do not believe that Juvenal imitates Epic 'seriously', or uses the grand style except ironically or playfully. To give two examples, Scott reads the prayer in Satire 12 (83-92) and the conclusion of Satire 10 (346-366) as solemn and moving; I find both passages humorous and ironical. We agree that both passages contain features of the 'grand style'; we differ on the proper way of reading them: I would read them in a tone of mock-grandeur; Scott

would read them in the grand manner. The argument is about a minimal variation of tone in the satirist's voice - and it is a variation which is crucial to the way we perceive Juvenal. And this is where literary criticism begins.

A - EPIC, TRAGEDY, GRAND STYLE POETRY

A(a)

1. aut Diomedes aut mugitum labyrinthi J.1.53

Juvenal is being explicitly derisory of epic themes.

2. ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale Oceanum J.2.1

Juvenal, in a 'low' context, of homosexuality, gives in the grand manner the legendary ends of the world.

3. frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymeden J.5.59
respice, cum sities.

In a derisory juxtaposition, a legendary and mythical name.

4. altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri J.5.115
spumat aper.

Meleager's legendary epic wild boar reduced to a meal. Notice the spumat which retains a feature of the live animal. (Would also fit into category E - RICHES, LUXURY).

5. sed gladiator erat. facit hoc illos Hyacinthos; J.6.110

The legendary beauty of Hyacinthus transferred to a loathsome gladiator.

6. occurrent multae tibi Belides atque Eriphylae J.6.655

The tragic Eriphyle is reduced to a modern-day murderess, in a context where the comparison with tragedy is implicit where it is not explicit, see commentary.

7. praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes J.7.6
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio

The source of high poetic inspiration is mocked.

8. syrma vel Antigones seu personam Melanippes J.8.229

Tragedy derided.

A(a)

9. 'posce' sed appellat puer unicus ut Polyphemi J.9.64
lata acies
A humorous 'epic' comparison.
10. rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos. J.10.150
A reference to the legendary Ethiopians whom Homer placed at the Eastern and Western extremities of the world, see the article in CQ 20 (1970) 339-49 (Appendix II).
11. quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephantī, J.12.102
The 'epic' Ethiopian elephants as in 10. discussed in the same article.
12. quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus J.13.197
nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
The reference to the epic torments of hell being followed by a humorous picture.
13. comparat, Antiphates trepidi laris ac Polyphemus, J.14.20
An epic cadence in mockery of an epic character.
14. ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates J.14.252
The glorious Mithridates in an inglorious comparison.
15. ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et puerilis J.15.59
exercere acies
The epic cadence mocks the anti-epic nature of the battle, a comparison which becomes explicit in 65-70.
16. Sauromatae truces aut immanes Agathyrsi, J.15.125
A grand rhythm for a legendary people, in a low context. Cf. 2.
17. ne mihi Polydamas et Troiades Labeonem P.1.4
praetulerint?
Mocking an epic poet, whose name is preceded by two epic words.

A(a)

- 18-9. 'quo didicisse, nisi hoc fermentum et quae semel intus
innata est rupto iecore exierit caprificus?' P.1.25
en pallor seniumque! o mores, usque adeone P.1.26
scire tuum ...

Two examples in a row, mocking the colossal learning that was the stock-in-trade of an epic poet.

20. aut si disparibus bellum incidat ut Diomedes H.S.1.7.16
cum Lycio Glaucos

A playful heightening of tone for an epic character.

21. effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis, H.S.2.3.72
fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et cum volet arbor.

A playful heightening of tone for an epic character, and an epic turn of speech.

22. nempe tuo, furiose. "meo, sed non furiosus" H.S.2.3.207

Mimicking the elevated tone of the speaker, Agamemnon.

23. gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato H.S.2.3.195
per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulchro.

The context is epic. The rhythm imitates it.

24. si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum H.S.2.5.46.
caelibis obsequium nudet te ...

Mimicking the elevated tones of the soothsayer, Tiresias. This example could also come under the category RELIGION.

25. hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni
alternis aptum sermonibus et populares H.AP.84
vincentem strepitus ...

A grand rhythm imitating the rising of the tragic iamb above the speech of the populace.

A(a)

26. nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri H.AP.146

Imitation of Epic.

27. ut citharoedus H.AP.355

ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem

The impressive cithara player is elevated only to be let down in the following line. The citharoedus is the type of showy, (i.e. Greek inspired) musician deplored in AP. 215,6. Cf.76.

A(b)

28. nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi J.7.50

consuetudo mali

Imitative and mocking of poets, mainly epic poets, to judge by the context. The rhythm of ambitiosi would indicate its genuineness, defending it against Houseman's condemnation.

29. ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum J.10.182

An epic rhythm for an epic epithet.

30. Hippolyto grave propositum, quid Bellerophonti J.10.325

An epic hero in a ridiculous position.

31. nulla super nubes convivium caelicolarum J.13.42

Deriding the fastuous epic banquets of the gods.

32. incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni J.15.64

tela, nec hunc lapidem, qualis et Turnus et Ajax

The stones are given a sarcastic epic treatment before being compared with the epic boulders of Turnus and Ajax. Cf. 15.

33. cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse

Maeonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo P.6.11

Persius is deriding the epic hallucinations of the epic poet Ennius.

A(b)

34.

at hunc liberta securi

divisit medium fortissima Tyndaridarum. H.S.1.1.100

The mock-epic is self evident.

35-36.

Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque H.S.1.5.40

occurrunt animae quales neque candidiores 41

Varius and Vergil, epic poets, are playfully given the epic treatment.

37.

Lusum it Maecenas dormitum ego Vergiliusque H.S.1.5.48

As above.

38.

quine putetis

difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti H.S.1.10.22
contigit?

Deriding the pretensions to erudition of a second-rate poet.

39.

Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque H.S.1.10.81

As 35, 36, and 37. Also, and here without any hint of mockery, of the critics whose opinions Horace really values, whom he puts above the rest of mankind. Cf. 474.

40.

Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus

ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur

quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea H.E.2.1.52

Compare 33.

41.

nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,

sponsi Penelopae, nebulones, Alcinoique H.E.1.2.28

The imitation of epic needs no comment.

42.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano H.E.1.8.1

Musa rogata refer ...

Playful imitation of the epic tone, as the appeal to the Muse indicates. Cf. 98.

A(b)

43. vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatū?
ingenium sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas,
et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque H.E.2.2.82
libris et curis ...

Horace is talking of the grand poet, the vates, and mocking the deep and learned studies he has to undergo. Cf. 18, 19.

A(c)

44. haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas J.1.52

Derisory of epic. The next verse is Example 1.

45. hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae ...
in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas J.3.17

Juvenal is giving a mock-solemn introduction to the satire by ironical references to grand Roman themes. This example would also fit into the category of RELIGION.

46. Urbicus exodio risum movet Atellanae J.6.71
gestibus Autonoes

A mythical figure in an Atellane farce.

47. non aliter quam si fecisset Iuno maritum
insanum. minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae J.6.620
boletus

Agrippina in a sarcastic epic comparison. See also commentary.

48. Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani J.8.218

A tragic hero being compared to a common matricide.

49. additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum J.10.151
transilit

Echoing the high designs of the legendary Hannibal, which end in the derisory verse 156. Cf. also 79.

A(c)

50. corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum J.12.117
inponet vittas

This could fit into the category RELIGION, but the grand rhythm also points forward to the comparison with the sacrifice of Iphigenia which follows.

51. laudo meum civem nec comparo testamento J.12.121
As 50.

52. fingentem immanis Laestrygonas et Cyclopas J.15.18
Odysseus and his fantastic tales are being mocked.

53. sic "costam longo subduximus Appennino" P.1.95
Persius is explicitly deriding the grandiloquent poets of his day.

54. sit ius liceatque perire poetis.

invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti. H.AP.467

This example could fit into the category of LAW, as Horace is imitating the revered and archaic tone of laws. But the epic rhythm is also imitative of the fury of the inspired poet, who is beyond the pale of reason. (See vv. 455-7).

A(d)

55. esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna J.2.149
Mocking a traditional epic theme.

56. servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam: J.3.139
Would also fit into the category NOBILITY. Is part of a circumlocution in the epic style, referring to a legendary Roman hero, and parodying a line of Silius Italicus. See commentary on 6.8.

A(d)

57. iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures. J.3.207

Sarcasm directed at the divine Greek poems which are being devoured by the illiterate Italian mice.

58. incidit Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi J.4.39

The mockery of epic language is evident.

59. stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem J.4.58
servabat

The indication of the weather and season is in the epic style.

60. illo tempore quo se

frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae. J.5.23

The astronomical indication is in the epic style.

61. pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona. J.5.29

An epic line for a very unepic battle. (Perhaps in reminiscence of Centaurs/Lapiths battle).

62. contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim. J.5.102

No epic vessel this, going between Scylla and Charybdis.

63. ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae. J.5.45

A direct reference in an unepic context to the Aeneid.

64. credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam J.6.1

The epic theme of Chastity on earth at the beginning of the world is about to be parodied. See also commentary.

65. silvestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor J.6.5

As 64. But would also fit into the category of EARLY ROMAN VIRTUE, see commentary.

66. sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis. J.6.9

As 64 and 65. See also commentary.

A(d)

67. viderunt primos argentea saecula moechos. J.6.14

The epic theme of the Metal Ages parodied. Like 64, 65, 66;
and see commentary.

68. chironomon Leda molli saltante Bathyllo J.6.63

Leda reduced to a subject of pantomime. See 46.

69. livida materno fervent adipata veneno. J.6.631

At the start of a long section in which present-day women are
to be compared to tragic poisoners. See also commentary.

70. grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiato J.6.636

As 69, the comparison with tragedy being explicit in this
example. See 446.

71. Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis. J.6.661

The end of the comparison mentioned in 69 and 70. See also
commentary.

72. qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella, J.7.28

ut dignus venias hederis

A sarcastic reference to a sublime, almost certainly epic, poet.

73. communi feriat carmen triviale moneta J.7.55

A playful imitation of the kind of sublime poetry which the
vates egregius would write. Cf. 72.

74. dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur

pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas? J.7.65

Playfully imitative of the style of the 'inspired' epic poets.

75. cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos. J.7.151

Mocking the pupils' declamations on grand themes. (Also in
category H, BOMBAST)

76. gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu J.7.225

Deriding Nero's participation in Greek, therefore showy, singing
contests. Cf. 27.

A(d)

77. adfixit ceras illa de nave petitas J.9.149

An epic incident in a very unepic context.

78. quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo. J.9.150

Like 77.

79. cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum J.10.158

Not a very grand picture of the legendary Hannibal. Cf. 49.

80. accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo. J.12.29

The verse introducing the description of a mock-epic storm at sea.

81. praesidia adferimus navem factura minorem J.12.56

A humorous paradox within the same general context as 80.

82. interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae J.12.80

The end of the mock-epic storm introduced by example 80.

83. garrula securi narrare pericula nautae. J.12.82

As 82. Notice the incongruous effect of the transferred epithet garrula. Cf. also Scott p. 86.

84. non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae J.12.120

An ironical reference to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Notice the incongruous epithets. Cf. 50.

85. quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
 sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem J.13.39
 Saturnus fugiens

Juvenal's burlesque of the Virgilian theme of the Golden Age in Latium.

86. Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis J.13.168

A burlesque of the mythical battles of the cranes and Pygmies.

87. uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro J.14.22

Juvenal is giving the sarcastic epic treatment to the Antiphates and Polyphemi.

A(d)

88. audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem J.14.280

An incongruous epic comparison for a merchant in quest of lucre.

89. passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus J.14.314

An ironical imitation of the grand designs of Alexander.

90. dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae J.15.5

Part of a derisory epic circumlocution, see commentary on 6.8.

91. qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentura palmae. J.15.76

A picturesque circumlocution in the epic style, in the course of a mock-epic battle.

91. et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae. J.15.128

A humorous mock-epic circumlocution, also an imitation of a Virgilian line. (G. 4.289).

93. hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est

rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus P.1.33

Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, vatum et plorabile siquid

The mockery of epic themes is evident.

- 94-5. "torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis P.1.99

et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo ..." 100

Persius is quoting the kind of pretentious poetry he dislikes.

96. fabula seu maesto ponatur hianda tragoedo P.5.3

Persius in mock-imitation of the grand poets he is talking about.

97. atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Latinae P.6.4

A tribute to the grand style of the poetry which Sabinus writes.

98. saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris H.S.1.5.61

Mock-epic description of one of the contestants in a battle on epic lines for which the satirist has invoked the help of the Muse. (v. 53). Cf. 42.

A(d)

99. flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis. H.S.1.5.93

A grand line for the departure of the poet Varius. Cf.

examples 35 to 39.

100. scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo H.E.1.3.17

An impressive line to describe the library where the works of all poets are kept. Cf. 105.

101. diram qui contudit Hydram

notaque fatali portenta labore subegit H.E.2.1.10

An epic circumlocution for one of the legendary labours of Hercules.

102. dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas H.E.2.1.27

Deriding those who consider all old documents to be as great as inspired poetry.

103. et vatibus addere calcar

ut studio maiore petant Helicon virentem. H.E.2.1.218

No comment necessary.

104. gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille

Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis

rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos. H.E.2.1.234.

Mocking the grand verses of the epic poet Choerilus. Would also fit into the category of NOBILITY.

105. aspice primum

quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-

spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus aedem. H.E.2.2.94

A grand line for the library of Palatine Apollo. Cf. 100.

106. spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo. H.AP.37

The impressive verse reflecting the resplendent beauty of the work of art, which beauty is marred by the one fault.

A(a)

107. inter dum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit

iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore H.AP.94.

A grand line to rise above the ordinary speech of comedy.

108. nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo. H.AP.147

The epic imitation is obvious. Note that the preceding verse is example 26.

109. carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum H.AP.220

A grand line for the reference to the beginnings of Tragedy.

110. regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro

migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas H.AP.229

The clash between the grand line and the low subject-matter is imitative of the clash between the royal hero and the setting and style of speech which the bad poet gives him.

111. effutire levis indigna Tragoedia versus H.AP.231

Imitating the grand tragic style.

112. spondeos stabilis in iura paterna recepit H.AP.256

The grand line imitating the stabilizing influence of the spondees.

113. ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae H.AP.275

Imitating the tragic style.

114. et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum. H.AP.346

A grand line to celebrate the fame enjoyed by the really good poet. Notice the 'pregnant' epithets used in the grand manner.

B - RELIGION

B(a)

115. iures licet et Samothracum J.3.144

et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper

creditur

In playful imitation of the solemnity of the oath taken by a very solemn altar.

B(a)

116. aptior hora cibo nisi quam dedit Petosiris. J.6.581

The solemn ending mocking the superstitious beliefs of the woman.

117. carior est illis homo quam sibi. nos animorum J.10.350
impulsu et caeca magnaue cupidine ducti

In the context of man's relationship with the gods, a mock-solemn ending, in a passage the irony of which has not been sufficiently recognized.

118. veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum J.13.148
dona

Mock solemnity; note adorandae robiginis. The example could easily fit also into the category of VENERABLE AGE.

119. nuper enim, ut repeto, fanum Isidis et Ganymeden J.9.22
Pacis et advectae secreta Palatia matris
et Cererem

A string of very solemn temples in a very low setting.

120. Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates
haut inpunitum quondam fore quod dubitaret J.13.200
depositum retinere

The solemn ending imitating the tone of voice of the priestess, mockingly.

121. legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis
porticus, existunt qui promittant hecatomben, J.12.101

A mock-solemn ending in an ironical context for a hecatomb. The example would also fit into the category of SIZE AND QUANTITY.

B(a)

122. cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque H.S.1.8.3
maxima formido;

A solemn ending for a very unsolemn god.

123. Canidia's dentis, altum saganæ caliendrum H.S.1.8.48

See 129.

124. "memini bene, sed meliore H.S.1.9.68

tempore dicam: hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
curtis Iudaeis oppedere?

Echoing the pretended religious feeling of the speaker.

125. praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure
iurando obstringam ambo; uter aedilis fueritve H.S.2.3.180
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.

Playful imitation of the religious and legal language of oaths.

The example would fit in equally easily in the category LAW.

126. discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
quod quis deridet quam quod probat et veneratur H.E.2.1.263

Imitative of quasi-religious veneration.

B(b)

127. quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum J.1.112
maiestas,

In mockery of the divine honours which Riches receive.

128. effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci J.15.4

A mock-solemn ending for an ungodlike god.

129. lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea; maior
lanea, quae poenis conpesceret inferiorem H.S.1.8.31

A mockery of solemnity in a humorous description of a scene
of witchcraft.

B(b)

130. ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
 quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione H.S.2.3.79
 aut alio mentis morbo ...

Mockery of superstitious fear.

131. Butram tibi Septiciumque H.E.1.5.26
 et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
 detinet adsumam

The not entirely serious solemnity is in a description of a feast that will be held on Augustus' birthday. Cf. l.11 of the same poem, example 175.

B(c)

132. laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento J.12.121
 mille rates.

The mock-solemnity of a will. Would also fit into the category of EPIC AND TRAGEDY, also of RICHES.

133. inde furor volgo, quod numina vicinorum J.15.36
 odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
 esse deos quos ipse colit.

Mockery of the religious fervour of the people in question.

B(d)

134. ut colitur Pax atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
 quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido J.1.116

An irreverent reference to the temple of Concord. Cf. 127.

- 135-6. talìa secreta coluerunt orgia taeda J.2.91
 Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotyton. 92

For an obscene religious ceremony.

B(d)

- 137-8. reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus inplet J.2.96
 caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa 97

As 135 and 136.

139. segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit
 arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro J.2.125
 sudavit clipeis ancilibus.

Sarcasm directed at the member of the Salii about to take part in a marriage ceremony not of the most moral. Note the mock-solemn transferred epithet in arcano loro.

140. longa per angustos figamus pulpita vicos J.6.78

The solemnity of a marriage feast that will end in a ridiculous verse four verses later.

- 141-2. observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges J.6.159
 et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis. 160

Mocking the religious observance of the Jewish sabbath.

143. mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa J.6.514

Sarcastic treatment of the religious castration.

144. plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara. J.6.516

Of the same individual as is described in example 143. See also commentary for how the example would fit into the category NOBILITY, and for the punctuation.

145. hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem J.6.522

Derisory of superstition.

146. plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis. J.6.534

Sarcastic, directed at the fake god Anubis.

147. magnaue debentur violato poena cadurco J.6.537

Derisively imitative of the loud and solemn voice in which the quack announces the punishment that is due to the offended god.

B(d)

148. *arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem, J.6.543*
 interpres legum Solymarum

Deriding the Jewish priestess. Note the sarcasm of the transferred epithet arcanam.

149. *consulit ictericae lento de funere matris J.6.565.*

Deriding the consulting of magicians. Would also fit into the category of FUNERALS.

150. *praebabit vati crebrum poppysma roganti J.6.584*

The sarcasm directed at the quack and his victim does not need to be emphasised.

151. *munera femineis tractat secreta calendis. J.9.53*

How solemnly is this male celebrating the Matronalia!

152. *evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis J.10.7*
 di faciles.

A sarcastically solemn line for this power of the gods.

153. *magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis J.10.111*

As 152.

154. *iret et grandi cervix ferienda ministro J.12.14*

A mock-religious introduction to a poem that is largely mock-epic. See also Appendix IB, IC.

155. *ac mollis ornate focos glebamque virentem. J.12.85*

A mock-religious conclusion to the mock-epic storm scene.

Cf. 154.

156. *accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera. J.12.88*

As 155.

157. *et miranti sub aratro*

piscibus inventis et fetae conparo mular. J.13.66

A humorous reference to prodigies.

B(d)

158.

sed et exorabile numen

fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. multi

committunt eadem diverso crimina fato. J.13.104

Playfully imitative of the solemn tone appropriate to the solemn subject of man/gods relationships.

159.

clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis. J.13.156

A whimsical treatment of the working of Fate, and of the quasi-religious punishment for parricide.

160.

quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos. J.14.104

A truly admirable devotion to religious observance by the Jews.

161.

effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci J.15.4

Mockery of the religious observance of the place. See also 128.

162.

sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce, J.15.146

An ironical reference to man/gods relationships, in a passage where the sarcasm is never very far below the surface, ll.93-174.

163.

et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum J.16.38

The satirist raises his voice in mock-solemnity as he speaks of the religious crime of removing the boundary stone.

164.

O Iane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit

nec manus auriculas imitari mobilis albas P.1.59

To Janus, in solemn tones, is addressed this not very solemn prayer.

165.

aurum vasa Numae Saturniaque inpulit aera

Vestalisque urnas et Tuscum fictile mutat. P.2.60

The satirist raises his voice to talk about sacred objects.

The example would also fit into the category RICHES.

B(d)

166. quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra. P.5.29

Persius talks of his relationship with Cornutus in quasi-religious terms. Cf. the examples that follow, and note that in the 22 verses that follow this one, in which Persius talks of his relationship with Cornutus, 5 are on the V A B B A pattern. Note also the use of the adjective arcana Cf. 139, 148; I do not feel that this is all done with a straight face.

167. bullaque subcinctis laribus donata pependit P.5.31

A humorous description of the ceremony on the assumption of the toga virilis.

168. nostra vel aequali suspendit tempora Libra P.5.47

See 166. Moreover referring here to the friends' horoscope.

169. at cum

Herodis venere dies unctaque fenestra

dispositae pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernae P.5.181

A sarcastic reference to a Jewish religious ceremony.

Cf. 148, 160.

170. e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos

praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus

condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber. H.S.1.4.89

The reference in a solemn tone to the god of wine clashes with the humorous picture which precedes of the drunk man soaking everyone in water.

171. nam fures dextra coercet

obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus. H.S.1.8.5

The description is of the most unsolemn part of a very unsolemn god. Cf. 122.

B(d)

172. hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam
 sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus H.S.2.2.83

The tone is raised to indicate the solemnity of the festival.

173. ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
 Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris. H.S.2.8.95

The high tone reflects the religious connotations of the witch Canidia. Cf. 123, 129.

174. pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca. H.E.1.3.36

The tone rises for the sacrificial context.

175. cras nato Caesare festus
 dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
 aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem. H.E.1.5.11

A solemn tone for the birthday of Augustus Caesar. Cf. 131.

176. somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas
 nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides? H.E.2.2.209

Mocking superstitious fear with a grand verse.

C - FUNERALS

(It will be appreciated that this category is not unrelated to the preceding).

C(a)

177. haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata J.10.243
 semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
 perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.

Building up the solemnity of funerals only to end the section with the unexpected and deflating nigra veste, the humorous concrete detail after the abstract luctibus and maerore.

C(a)

178. me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur
 fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
 insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque H.E.1.14.8
 fert et amat spatiis obstantis rumpere claustra.

A short but in my view sincere tribute to Lamia's grief before Horace passes on to the subject of his satire. Note the hapax, insolabiliter.

C(b)

179. ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae, H.S.1.2.1
 mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
 maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.

The rhythm and enumeration suggest a funeral procession, but it is a rather undistinguished cortège that follows it.

C(d)

180. ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis. J.1.146

The solemnity is for the funeral, but the cortège is, to say the least, unorthodox.

181. sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
 ponitur exigua feralis cena patella. J.5.85

The solemnity of the verse describing the funereal supper clashes with the context.

182. cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recuset
 flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri. J.6.0 16

Solemnity for the sepulchre, but the context is far from solemn.

c(d)

183. consulit ictericæ lento de funere matris. J.6.565

Funereal solemnity in a context where it is totally out of place. This verse also appears as example 149.

184. frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem. J.8.18

Juvenal obviously means us to think of the procession for the funeral, at which the imagines would figure. In the context, however, the line is not solemn but mock-solemn.

185. perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant. J.10.245

See example 177.

186. nemo dolorem

fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
contentus, vexare oculos umore coacto;

ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris. J.13.134

Real tears at the funeral of ... money.

187. tandemque beatulus alto

compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis
in portam rigidas calces extendit. at illum

hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites. P.3.106

A humorous description of a funeral.

188. aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes

albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum. H.S.1.8.16

A solemn line for the common sepulchre, but the context is more grisly, and humorously so, than solemn.

189. torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,

tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis, H.E.2.2.75

hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus.

In the middle of the bustle passes the solemn funeral procession.

D - NOBILITY, DISTINCTION OF BIRTH AND RANK

D(a)

190. atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
 nescioquis titulos Aegyptius atque arabarches, J.1.130

Deriding the presumption of the Arabarch.

191. alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
 accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae J.3.133
 ut semel aut iterum super illam palpitet

Two dignified matrons in undignified situations; contrasted
with common prostitutes.

192. deinde adamas notissimus et Beronices J.6.156
 in digito factus pretiosior.

Imitating the salesman's patter, in which he tries to inflate
the price of his ring by referring to its noble, but
incestuous, possessor.

193. hoc satius quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi'
 quod non vidisti; faciant equites Asiani J.7.14
 quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni
 altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo.

Deriding those upstart equites and their disgraceful
behaviour. Cf. example 233.

194. quod non dant procures, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos J.7.90
 et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?

Deriding the noble families.

195. Quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius J.7.94
 aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?

Deriding the nobility which can no longer produce rich patrons
as it used to.

D(a)

196.

felix et pulcher et acer,

felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus J.7.191

Referring sarcastically to the nobility of the Stoic sapiens.

The example would also fit into the category of PHILOSOPHY.

See 337.

197.

ergo cavebis

et metues ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus. J.8.38

Deriding the noble's pride in his nobility.

198.

invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,

permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis J.8.174

A grand rhythm for the low company which the noble keeps.

199.

igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis

servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu J.10.286

Lentulus, hac poena caruit ceciditque Cethegus

integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

An elevated rhythm to refer to one of the great commanders of Republican Rome, Pompey, as well as to other legendary figures of the Republic. In a context full of grisly puns: servatum caput abstulit, in which caput = life and literally head.

iacuit Catilina cadavere toto, which could and would in any ordinary context mean that the body lay all stretched out to its full length, but which in the present context means that Catiline's body was entire.

200.

ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema. J.13.105

An ironical heightening of the tone for the emblem of Kingship in a context which does not dignify it.

D(a)

201. sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae J.14.81
 in saltu venantur aves,

The nobility of Jove's servant (contrasted with vultures)
 derided in a grand ending.

202. sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae,
 imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
 quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus H.S.1.6.36
 omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.

Playfully imitating the man-in-the-street's pompous concern
 about the candidate's extraction.

203. tunc mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque H.S.2.7.75
 tot tantisque minor

A solemn tone to the slave's voice, to indicate the high empire
 that all men and things have over the poet as he, the slave,
 sees it. The example would also fit into the category
 PHILOSOPHY. Cf. 344.

D(b)

204. divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum J.3.131
 filius

Playfully imitating the citizen's pride in his birth.

205. quod tu discumbere iussus
 mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum. J.5.13
 fructus amicitiae magnae cibus.

Deriding the traditional relationship between noble and client.

Note that the verse is also in the V A B B A pattern.

D(b)

206. quid prodest, Pontice longo
 sanguine censerī, pictos ostendere vultus
 maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos J.8.3
 Deriding the nobility.
207. permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis
 inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum J.8.175
 As 198. Would also fit into the category of FUNERALS.
208. qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum. J.8.190
 Mocking the patricians.
209. Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator. J.10.138
 Mocking the high ambition of great commanders.
210. nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus
 olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent H.S.1.6.4
 Directing irony at the pride that a lesser man than Maecenas
 might have in his ancestry.
211. sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno
 te nostris ducibus, te Graius anteferendo H.E.2.1.19
 Grand ending, earnest, for Augustus.

D(c)

212. lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator harenam
 et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis J.2.145
 et Catuli Paulique minoribus
 The grand rhythm mocks the nobility.
213. non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
 Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus J.3.120
 Mocking the upstarts who have occupied the places of power.

D(c)

214. si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato, J.4.53

quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto

Sarcasm directed at people having power in the state, possibly delatores, and their risible quasi-edicts.

215. sed quid violentius aure tyranni

cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso J.4.87

vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici

Ridiculing the high power and tyranny of the emperor which transforms the most casual conversation into an affair of state. The grand ending falls on the trivial word.

216. ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo J.6.80

nobilis Euryalum murmillonem exprimat infans.

Mocking the noble Lentulus. Would also fit into the category of RICHES.

217. 'dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem

sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius

cervice obstricta dominum trahat'. hi sermones J.10.88

tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura volgi.

A sarcastically grand rhythm for the powerful Sejanus, now in an ignominiously humble position.

218. optimus hic et formosissimus idem

gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguendus J.10.332

Messalinae oculis.

A grand rhythm for the noble patrician and the emperor's wife; but the context is not a very noble one.

D(d)

219. maesta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina. J.2.109

A grand rhythm for Queen Cleopatra. The context is however obscene.

D(a)

220. purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati. J.4.31

A grand verse for the Palace; in a low context.

221. iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
 vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros J.4.33

A grand verse to mark with irony the contrast between the past and present occupations of Crispinus. The example would also fit into the category of LOUD SPEAKERS.

222. ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
 exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres. J.4.64

A grand verse to indicate sarcastically how the nobles come second in status to a fish.

223. propere stomachum laxare sagina
 et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum. J.4.68

The grandeur of the emperor asserted in an ironically grand verse, reflecting the fawning tones of the flatterer.

224. mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum. J.5.13

See 205.

225. ergo duos post
 si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
 tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto J.5.17

As in the preceding example, the grand verse is to indicate the traditional character of the noble/client relationship. But here these considerations have given place to more mundane requirements, and the traditional ties are entirely debased.

D(d)

226.

ipse loquaci

gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit

adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum, J.5.144

ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.

The context is the same as in the two preceding examples.

Here the grand verse is to imitate the tone of voice of the patron lording it in his household, in a low context, of will-hunting, and dealing with trifling objects, nuts, an as.

227.

vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis, J.5.146

boletus domino

As 224, 225, 226.

228.

ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo

nobilis Euryalum murmillonem exprimat infans. J.6.81

See 216. But see commentary for possible change in text.

229.

sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos J.6.118

The grand line mocks the emperor's wife caught in an ignoble situation.

230-1.

sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero J.6.120

intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar 121

As 229.

232.

ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem. J.6.124

As the three preceding examples, except that here Britannicus is mocked along with his mother.

233.

altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo. J.7.16

See example 193.

234.

felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus

adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae J.7.192

Mocking the senatorial emblem, in an ironical context where the Stoic wise man is being mocked. See example 196.

D(a)

235. si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum J.8.16
squalentis traducit avos

Mocking a noble in an ignoble context.

236. si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures, J.8.137
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas

The emblems of power, prerogative of the nobility, in an ignoble context.

237. statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo si nocturnus adulter
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo? J.8.145

A noble in an ignoble situation.

238. atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
 qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
 nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda. J.8.253

After the ironical description of the battle against the Cimbri, the triumph of the noble Catulus is characterized by the trifling and ironical detail of the 'second laurel', ironical in that it clashes with the nobility of the verse.

239. an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora
frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris? J.10.102

A noble line for the little-town magistrate, the grandeur of
the line clashing with the magistrate's trivial sphere of power.

240. quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites? J.10.109

The great Caesar as an animal-tamer. See commentary on 6.8.

D(d)

241. gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguendus J.10.332
Messalinae oculis.

See example 218.

242. vos, o patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
occipiti caeco posticae occurrere sannae. P.1.62

The noble patricians in no noble situation.

243. ut tuus iste nepos olim satur anseris extis,
cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena, P.6.72
patriciae immeiat volvae?

A noble line for patrician activities.

244. numquid ego a te
magno prognatum depono consule cunnum H.S.1.2.70
velatumque stola

A grand line for a noble cunt.

245. huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati aversos soliti componere amicos. H.S.1.5.29

A noble verse for Maecenas, and the legatio.

246. num Laelius aut qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen H.S.2.1.66

A noble line for the noble Africanus.

247. scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu,
astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem. H.S.2.3.186

A noble line to deride the pretentiousness of the cunning fox
who wants to imitate that noble lion, Agrippa.

D(d)

248.

Vulteiū mane Philippus

villa vendentem tunicato scruta popello H.E.1.7.65

occupat et salvere iubet prior.

The point of the passage is the reversal of roles between the noble Philippus and the poor Vulteiū Mena. There is, in the beginning of their acquaintance, a reversal of the traditional patron/client relationship. Horace marks this by giving Mena here a noble line for his humble activities.

249-50.

praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores, H.E.2.1.15

iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras, 16

Horace's tribute to Augustus. The example would also fit into the category of RELIGION.

251.

rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos. H.E.2.1.234

A noble line for the royal currency. See also example 104.

252.

centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,

celsi praetereunt austeram poemata Ramnes. H.AP.342

A noble line to depict the disdain^{with} which the Ramnes, the equestrian century of venerable nobility (established by Romulus himself) and exquisite taste, look upon poetry which is merely functional, contrasting with the more terre-à-terre attitude of the centuriae seniorum, (who were, of course, pedites) who want nothing but what is conducive to gain.

E - RICHES, LUXURY

E(a)

253.

cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator J.1.46

pupilli prostantis

Sarcastically directed at the show of luxury of the spoliator. Cf. 287.

$E(\mathbf{a})$

254. hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti J.3.217

A flippant reference to an expensive statue of Polyclitus.

255. *Phidiaeum* vivebat ebur, nec non Polycliti J.8.103
 multus ubique labor.

See 254.

256. sed nec

tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris J.13.7

iacturae te mergat onus

A grand verse-ending in imitation of the tone of voice which the rich man might use while talking contemptuously of such paltry sums.

257. non ego avarum

cum veto te fieri vappam iubeo ac nebulonem. H.S.1.1.104

Imitating the prodigality of the spendthrift.

258. Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis, H.S.1.2.12
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis.

See 257, 315.

259. das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem
 occupat humanam; grandes rhombi patinaeque H.S.2.2.95
 grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus.

Deriding luxury. Also fits into the category of size.

260. quid enim differt, barathrone H.S.2.3.166
dones quidquid habes an numquam utare paratis?

Deriding extravagant spending.

261. ergo

sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis H.S.2.6.71

Deriding the tone of voice of people envious of others' riches.

E(a)

262. vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
 qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque H.S.2.7.96
 aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
 proelia ...

A grand verse for what the slave considers to be equally
 luxurious with Pausiaca tabella.

E(b)

263. quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum J.1.112
 maiestas

Mocking the reverence in which riches are held. See also 127.

264. commune id vitium est: hic vivimus ambitiosa J.3.182
 paupertate omnes.

Mocking the quest for gain, evidenced by the desire to put on
 an imposing show.

265. et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli. J.10.362
 Deriding the wealth of Sardanapallus, in imitation of the
 grand tones of the Stoic sage, who is being treated with irony
 in the conclusion of this satire. The example would fit into
 the category PHILOSOPHY.

266. et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
 et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicari J.14.229
 Mocking the advice of the parents to their children to grow
 rich. See also example 268, 284. The conclusion of the line
 seems to guarantee it against Clausen's condemnation, following
 Ruperti.

E(b)

267.

inde virorum

saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacumque J.15.49

unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae

In an ironical description of the luxury of Ombi. See, for example, nigro tibicine.

268.

rem struere exoptas caeso bove Mercuriumque P.2.44

arcessis fibra: 'da fortunare Penates,

Mocking the quest after riches. Would also fit into the category RELIGION. Cf. 269, 274.

269.

inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum

nec gluttu sorbere salivam Mercurialem? P.5.112

As 268, 274.

270.

tabulas socero dabit atque

ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas

accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque H.S.2.5.68

nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.

Mocking Nasica's disappointment at not being an heir.

271.

quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber

tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum H.S.1.1.111

turbae comparet

As 269, 268.

272.

obiciet nemo sordis mihi quas tibi, Tilli,

cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur

te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque. H.S.1.6.109

The clash between the praetor's status and the meagre and laughable retinue that accompanies him is reflected in the verse-ending.

E(b)

273.

Avidienus,

H.S.2.2.55

cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret

An imposing name in a grand verse-ending for a mean person.

274.

hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus

cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale H.S.2.3.25

imposuere mihi cognomen compita.

An appropriate cognomen for a man who knew how to make money,

emphasized by being a verse-ending. As 268, 269.

275.

mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum H.E.1.5.8

et Moschi causam;

An appropriately grand verse-ending in imitation of the riches which Torquatus is being told to forget.

276.

sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet

plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque. H.E.1.17.51

A grand verse-ending to mark the envy which strives after riches.

E(c)

277.

endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma

J.6.246

quis nescit,

For an imported luxurious Greek habit, in use amongst the modish rich, (see commentary).

278.

hinc fluxit ad istos

et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos J.6.296

atque coronatum et petulans madidumque Tarentum.

Sarcasm directed at Greek luxury, (see commentary).

E(c)

279.

de quo sextarius alter

ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturum orexim,

dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino. J.6.429

Sarcastically grand verse-ending directed at Greek habits of luxury. Note the Greek word orexim, (see commentary).

280.

pane tumet facies aut pinguis Poppaeanum J.6.462

spirat et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti

A verse-ending deriding the rich cosmetic, of the kind Poppaea used, (see commentary).

281.

non licet esse viro; nam prodiga corruptoris J.10.304

improbitas ipsos audent temptare parentes;

tanta in muneribus fiducia.

Imitating the prodigality of the corruptor.

282.

grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno

ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae J.11.71

parte anni quales fuerant in vitibus uvae.

The verse-ending imitates the tone of voice of the host, who is speaking, for whom the frugal meal which he is offering is the equal of the most sumptuous fare. Cf. Appendix IB for the use of grandia.

283.

discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem

summe cum magno lepus atque aper et pygargus J.11.138

et Scythicae volucres et phoenicopterus ingens

et Gaetulus oryx

Like 282, but this time of really sumptuous fare that is being scorned.

E(c)

284.

adde quod hunc de

quo loquor egregium populus putat adquirendi J.14.115
artificem;

A grand verse-ending deriding the acquisitiveness of the
parent concerned.

285.

sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta. J.14.326

Ironically imitative of the sum of money amassed.

286.

nec Croesi fortuna unquam nec Persica regna
sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi, J.14.329

Like 285.

E(d)

287.

Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum J.1.28

Sarcastically directed at the show of luxury of Crispinus.

288.

causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis, J.1.32
plena ipso

Like 287.

289.

est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae,
quae vehitur cluso latis specularibus antro. J.4.21

Sarcastic description of the rich woman being carried in her
litter.

290.

Circeis nata forent an

Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo J.4.141
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu.

Irony directed at the great connoisseur of grand food.

291.

si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis. J.5.50

Irony directed at the luxury of iced water.

E(d)

302. purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
 atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum
 infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
 viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer. J.12.42

An ironical description of a rich dress.

303. ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides. J.14.91

Irony directed at the grand buildings of the eunuch Posides.

304. totam hanc turbavit filius amens
 dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas. J.14.95

Irony directed at the grand building programme.

305. servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo
 ipse quoque esuriens, neque enim omnia sustinet unquam
 mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta, J.14.128

A grand verse to indicate that our avaricious man would consider it the height of luxury to consume at one sitting all the mouldy bits of blue bread.

306. nec non differre in tempora cenae
 alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
 signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro
 filaque sectivi numerata includere porri. J.14.133

Like 305.

307. sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum
 quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus harena,
 frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni J.14.300

A grand verse to indicate that the rags now veiling the man's groin replace all the great riches which he once considered insufficient.

E(d)

308.

horrida sane

Aegyptos, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,

barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo. J.15.46

A grand verse to indicate the luxury of the Egyptians.

309-10.

haec Calabrum coxit vitiato murice vellus,

P.2.65

haec bacam conchae rasisse et stringere venas

ferventis massae crudo de pulvere iussit.

67

Deriding the power of gold.

311.

de maiore domo modice sitiante lagoena

lenia loturo sibi Surrentina rogabit. P.3.93

Deriding luxurious habits.

312.

tunicatum cum sale mordens

cepe et farratam pueris plaudentibus ollam

pannosam faecem morientis sorbet aceti. P.4.32

Like 305, 306.

313.

quinque palaestritae licet haec plantaria vellant

elixasque nates labefactent forcipe adunca P.4.40

In the context, directed in sarcasm at an action that
symbolizes the height of luxury and soft, self-indulgent living.

314.

vende animam lucro, mercare atque^{excute}/sollers

omne latus mundi, ne sit praestantior alter

Cappadocas rigida pinguis plausisse catasta. P.6.77

Sarcasm directed at the ceaseless pursuit of riches.

315.

avi cur atque parentis

praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,

omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis H.S.1.2.9

Imitating the prodigality of the spendthrift.

E(d)

316.

Avidienus

cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret

quinguennis oleas est et silvestria corna, H.S.2.2.57

Like 312; see also 273.

317.

caule suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris H.S.2.4.15

dulcior

Fine fare - also explicitly (see 1.3 and 1.95) compared to the wisdom of philosophical precepts.

318.

lubrica nascentes inplent conchylia lunae; H.S.2.4.30

Imitating sarcastically the swelling tone of the connoisseur of luxurious food. See example 290.

319.

pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum H.S.2.4.34

Like 318.

320.

Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno H.S.2.4.51

nocturna si quid crassi est tenuabitur aura.

Like 318 and 319; except that wine is here substituted for food.

321.

quin omnia malit

quaecumque immundis fervent allata popini s H.S.2.4.62

Deriding the poor-quality food considered as the height of luxury by the diner concerned.

322.

insuper addes

pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae. H.S.2.4.69

Cf. 318.

323.

immane est vitium dare milia terna macello

angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino H.S.2.4.77

Cf. 318.

E(d)

324. magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
tractavit calicem manibus dum furta
sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit. H.S.2.4.80
Deriding the fastidiousness of the company at a grand banquet.

325. et Tyrias dare circum illuta toralia vestis H.S.2.4.84
Cf. above.

326. neque ille
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae H.S.2.6.84
The generous hospitality of the country mouse, offering his
richest fare. Would also fit into RUSTIC FRUGALITY.

- 327-8. cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos H.S.2.6.103
multaque de magna superessent fercula cena. 104
Describing playfully the sumptuous setting for the banquet.

329. vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum H.S.2.8.38
Like 320.

330. impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, H.E.1.1.45
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes
Deriding the relentless pursuit of riches.

331. 'non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis'. H.E.1.7.17
Imitating the tone of voice of the host, full of modest pride
at the gift he is offering.

332. non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
nescit Aquinatem potentia vellera fucum H.E.1.10.27
Deriding the specious costliness of the dye. See 297, 302.

E(d)

333. vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
 conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis. H.E.1.15.46

In an ironical passage, imitating the tone of the voice of the man expressing his unbounded admiration for the person who possesses riches.

334. quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli H.E.1.14.32
Impressive show of elegance.

335. quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae H.E.1.15.21
Imitating the grand impression Horace hopes to make on his Lucanian mistress.

F - PHILOSOPHY

F(a)

- 336-7. felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus J.7.191
 adpositam nigrae lunam subtextit alutae,
 felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator 193

Two imposing verse-endings, mocking the Stoic sage.

338. qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
 naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
 nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil et potiores J.10.360
 Herculis aerumnas credat

Like 336 and 337.

339. et qui nec Cynicos nec Stoica dogmata legit
 a Cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum J.13.122
 suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.

A grand verse mocking all manner of philosophy.

F(a)

340. mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
 praecipit atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
 materia constare putat paribusque elementis, J.14.17
 an saevire docet Rutilus,

Deriding philosophical teaching.

341. restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis H.E.1.1.27
 Playful elevation of tone showing respect for philosophical
 precepts which the beginner must be content with in place of
 the full detailed doctrine which is only known to more
 advanced students of philosophy.

342. ergo ubi prava
 stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus H.S.2.3.221
 et furiosus erit;

Mimicking sarcastically the tone of voice of the Stoic
 propounding the Stoic point of view.

F(b)

343. vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti
 unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis. J.3.229

Sarcasm directed at the Pythagoreans and their strict
 vegetarianism. The example would also fit into the category
 of OLD ROMAN VIRTUES.

344. quisnam igitur liber? sapiens sibi qui imperiosus, H.S.2.7.83
 quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
 responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
 fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,

Irony directed at the extremism of the Stoic slave.

$$F(a)$$

345. Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum J.3.116

Mocking the unstoic action of the Stoic ... delator.

346. et qui nec Cynicos nec Stoica dogmata legit
a Cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri: J.13.124

See example 339. The maiores medici stand in the metaphor for the great philosophers.

347. haut tibi inexpertum curvos deprendere mores
 quaeque docet sapiens bracatis inlita Medis
 porticus, insomnis quibus et detonsa iuventus
 invigilat siliquis et grandi pasta polenta;
 et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos
 surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem. P.3.57

A grand verse to end a passage where the Stoics and Pythagoreans have been dealt with flippantly.

G - ELEVATED MORAL TONE

 $G(a)$

348. exigite ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, neturpia ludaut
ne faciant vicibus. non est leve tot puerorum J.7.240

observare manus oculosque in fine trementes.

A grand verse-ending to signify the high moral concern which the teacher has for his pupils; the grandeur being undercut by a wealth of obscene detail.

G(a)

349-50.

ne crimina nostra sequantur

ex nobis geniti, quoniam dociles imitandis J.14.40

turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam J.14.41

quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe,

sed nec Brutus erit Bruti nec avunculus usquam.

High moral tone.

351.

procul, a procul inde puellae

lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti. J.14.46

High moral tone, ironically imitated; and luxury of rich
banquets derided.

352.

'nil fuerit mi' inquit 'cum uxoribus umquam alienis'

H.S.1.2.57

Sarcasm directed at the self-satisfied speaker.

353.

si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,

quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui H.S.1.4.4

famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

The grand verse-ending imitating, not without irony, the high
moral concern of the Old Comedy. Also, it elevates the tone
while referring to those 'old' writers. Cf. 424.

354.

hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum; H.S.1.4.27

hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;

Horace adopts a half-serious moral tone to go through the
catalogue of vices.

G(b)

355.

ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt

consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingreditur J.7.172

ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra

G(b)

355. This example fits only uneasily into this category; the
cont. elevated tone of voice imitates not a high moral tone, but
the elevated tone of the wise man giving good advice.

356. 'sum bonus et frugi'. renuit negitatque Sabellus.
cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque H.E.1.16.50
suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore:
tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae.

The beginning of a speech in which Horace puts forward, with a certain irony, and clearly not propria persona - he calls the speaker Sabellus - the standard Stoic doctrine. The speech ends with the flippant jest, mors ultima linea rerum est, which Horace now speaks in his own urbane persona, and which undercuts all the serious sermonizing that has gone on before. (In the presence of manicis, conpedibus, and solvet, I interpret the last words of the Satire to mean "Death is life's last string", i.e. once we have slipped off the last string of death, we are free of res, existence).

G(d)

357. et latum media sulcum deducis harena. J.1.157
A grand verse to characterize the vain endeavour of the satirist in attempting to castigate all the vices of Rome.

358. utile porro
filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem. J.6.241
A sarcastically inflated epigrammatic conclusion to a section. See commentary.

G(d)

359.

breve sit quod turpiter audes,

quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba. J.8.166

A high tone for the moral epigram, containing an image incongruous with the tone.

360.

suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem J.11.152

et casulam et notos tristis desiderat haedos

ingenui voltus puer, ingenuique pudoris,

Irony in the sarcastic high emotional as well as moral tone of the description of the virtuous slave-boy. The example would also fit into the category of ROMAN VIRTUE, for the slave-boy described has all the typically Roman virtues associated with the old days of rustic Rome.

361.

nunc si depositum non infitietur amicus,

si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem J.13.61

prodigiosa fides

The high tone of the verse clashing with its subject-matter; the sarcasm directed at the moralists who are always looking to the good old days for a model of morality.

362.

nec unquam

depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco

invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis. J.13.179

The high moralizing tone mocked by the incongruous image.

363.

quos diri conscia facti

mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit

occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum. J.13.195

The high moral tone mocked by the humorous image of the soul, in the guise of a torturer, whipping the inside of the culprit.

G(d)

364. et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus, J.14.3
 quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.

Again the high tone conflicting with the humorous picture.

365. nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem
 et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros J.14.228

A high tone to indicate the kind of moral advice which a parent would be expected to give to his son. But here the advice is not moral at all, so that the subject-matter conflicts with the tone.

366. pupillum ad iura vocantem
 circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
 ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli. J.15.137

An emotionally over-inflated line in a passage in which the virtue of tears is extolled to ironical heights.

367. effluis amens,
 contemnere. sonat vitium percussa, maligne
 respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo. P.3.22

The precise image taken from everyday life clashes with the high moral tone of the verse.

368. et vitae nescius error
 diducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes, P.5.35

A grand verse for the description of a serious decision, containing a humorous image.

- 369-70. tum fallere sollers
 adposita intortos extendit regula mores P.5.38
 et premitur ratione animus vincique laborat
 artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice voltum. 40

Both examples like 368.

G(d)

371. tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem P.5.60
et sibi iam seri vitam ingemuere relictam.

Also like 368. Thick days and a marshy light.

372. sin tu, cum fueris nostrae paulo ante farinae
pelliculam veterem retines et fronte politus
astutam vapido servas in pectore volpem, P.5.117

A grand verse to symbolize the grand moral exterior under
which the fox is hidden.

373. denique te ipsum
concute num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris. H.S.1.3.37

An epigrammatic conclusion in a grand tone, containing an image
taken from agriculture!

374. si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere iussus
semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius H.S.1.3.81
in cruce suffigat

Tone sarcastically elevated to represent the disproportionate
anger of the master.

375. nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti H.S.1.3.116
et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit

Mocking the disproportionately elevated moral tone. See above.

376. atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos. H.S.1.6.67

A grand verse to imitate the tone of voice of the fastidious
person who could find fault with Horace's modest moral failings;

G(d)

376. the moral situation being expressed in terms of a homely
Contd. metaphor.

377. quocirca vivite fortes

fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus. H.S.2.2.136

The grand conclusion of a speech full of irony which is not spoken by the satirist in his own name, but through the mouth of Ofellus. This example would fit even more neatly into the category of ROMAN VIRTUE, since Ofellus is obviously an archetype of Roman Rustic Virtue.

H- FLUENT, GREAT, IMPRESSIVE, BOMBASTIC SPEAKERS

H(a)

378. tempta

Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Pollio quanti

lautorum pueros, artem scindes Theodori. J.7.177

Mocking Theodorus, who, according to the context, is the writer of an Art of Rhetoric. (See however J.G. Griffith, CR 11 (1961) 53.)

379. eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis J.10.114

Mocking the eloquence of Cicero.

H(b)

380. vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum J.7.98

scriptores? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.

nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit

Mocking the verbosity of historians.

381. hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum, J.7.113

parte alia solum russati pone Lacertae.

Imitating in mockery the fluent speech of the professional talkers.

H(b)

382. quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
 quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? accipiat te
 Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum J.7.148
 Africa

Like 381.

383. hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano J.7.186
 ut multum duo sufficient:

A grand line for the expert in oratory.

384. distat enim quae
 sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem J.7.195
 Juvenal is saying that what determines whether an orator will
 prosper is the star that presides over his birth. The grand
 verse-ending is humorous, mimicking the baby's first attempt
 at oratory.

385. egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
 hospitio modico: rhetor comes Heliodorus, H.S.1.5.2
 Graecorum longe doctissimus ...

An impressive verse-ending for the learned Greek rhetor.

386. sanus utrisque
 auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus, H.S.2.3.285
 exciperet dominus cum venderet.

A grand verse-ending mimicking litigiousness. Would fit into
 the category of LEGAL TERMS.

387. cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati H.E.2.1.223
 Mocking the garrulity of poets who want to impress.

H(d)

388. declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti,
 cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos. J.7.151

A grand verse for the high-tone declamations.

389. occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros. J.7.154

An ironically grand verse to represent the ceaseless speech-making.

390. vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae
 et veras agitant lites raptore relicto. J.7.169

A grand verse mocking the hackneyed themes of declamation.

391. si deciens lectis diversa parte tabellis
 vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni, J.13.137

A grand line to mimic the grand tone which the accused assumes to deny the evidence which damns him.

392. Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos, J.15.111
 de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.

Mimicking the spreading of facundia to the furthest parts of the world.

393. aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos
 vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni. J.16.41

See 391.

394. saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus olivo,
 grandia si nollem morituri verba Catonis P.3.45
 discere non sano multum laudanda magistro.

See 390, 388, 389; also here reflecting the grandia verba Catonis.

395. est brevitae opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
 impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris. H.S.1.10.10

The ironical imitation is self-evident.

H(d)

396.

donec ohe! iam

ad caelum manibus sublatiis dixerit, urge,

crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem. H.S.2.6.98

Bombast.

397.

tum in lecto quoque videres

stridere secreta divisos aure susurros. H.S.2.8.78

A grand line for the frantic and malicious murmuring that is going on.

398.

hoc quoque te manet ut pueros elementa docentem

occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus H.E.1.20.18

A grand verse for the book of poems turned grammaticus,
ironically, one who is balbus.

399.

et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps. H.AP.217

The imitation is self-evident.

400.

verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur. H.AP.311

A grand verse to indicate the ease with which the words follow when the artist has a firm grasp of his subject-matter.

401.

omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat. H.AP.337

A grand verse in imitation of the superabundance that is being talked about.

I - SIZE, QUANTITY

I(a)

402.

Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem

pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum H.S.2.1.27

milia.

A grand verse-ending to indicate the unlimited variety of tastes; also, no doubt, partly determined by the presence of Castor and Pollux.

I(a)

403.

tum Vibidius Balatroni: H.S.2.8.33

"nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti,"

et calices poscit maiores.

The proper name is made to constitute a grand verse-ending to imitate sarcastically the magisterial tone with which Vibidius calls for larger cups; also the clash between high and low in the sentiments expressed in v.34. This verse is the more incongruous in that Vibidius and Balatro are mere umbrae brought along by Maecenas. Also, the meaning of the word Balatro clashes humorously with the grand verse-ending. Cf. 468. And this is taking place in a context of luxury.

I(b)

404.

sed omnes

noverunt Mauri atque Indi quae psaltria penem

maiolem quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones J.6.338

illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus,

intulerit

A grand verse-ending for the incongruous comparison; the incongruousness being underlined by the presence of the legendary figures of the Republic.

I(d)

405.

testa alta paretur

quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem. J.4.132

debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus

A grand verse for the fish of epic proportions. (Fits into the categories EPIC and LUXURY).

I(d)

406.

magno gaudet sudare tumultu,

cum lassata gravi ceciderunt brachia massa, J.6.421

An imposing verse to indicate the exertions of the woman with the heavy weights. Also derides a Greek, so luxurious, habit.

407.

cedo si breve parvi

sortita est lateris spatium breviorque videtur

virgine Pygmaea nullis adiuta coturnis. J.6.506

The grand line underlines the diminutive stature of the woman. It would also fit into the category EPIC, see 86.

408.

ipsi magna sonant, sed tum cum creditor audit

praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo

qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen. J.7.110

The grand verse underscores the imposing picture of the creditor approaching with his large account book, an imposing picture in the eyes of the pleader who sees in his approach the opportunity of making some money. Would also fit into the category RICHES.

409.

nam si tibi sidera cessant,

nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi, J.9.34

An imposing line for an imposing member!

410.

quinpote? vis dicam? nugaris, cum tibi, calve,

pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede extet. P.1.57

A grand line for the sarcastic picture of the huge belly.

411.

"Arma virum" nonne hoc spumosum et cortice pingui

ut ramale vetus vegrandi subere coctum? P.1.97

A grand line for the sarcastic comparison of the bad inflated epic style to a rotting branch with thick bark. This example would also fit into the category EPIC POETRY.

I(d)

412. "porrectum magno magnum spectare catino H.S.2.2.39
vellem" ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus

An imposing line for the image of the large dinner on a large plate. The example would also fit into the category LUXURY.

413. deficient inopem venae te ni cibus atque
ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti. H.S.2.3.154

An imposing line for the huge prop in the humorous picture.

The grandeur of the verse also reflects ironically the solemnity of tone with which the doctor warns the patient of the dangerous situation in which he finds himself.

J - VENERABLE AGE

J(a)

414. confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum J.13.148
dona

Sarcastic nostalgia for the good old days of the Republic and earlier. Also in category RELIGION.

415. hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino H.S.1.10.46
atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
inventore minor.

Horace gives a grand verse-ending to an 'old' writer, in half mockery.

416. sed ille,
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo H.S.1.10.70
saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet unguis.

J(a)

416. A grand verse-ending for the founder of the genre, Lucilius.

Contd.

Also, the ending imitates the 'careful' qualities of modern poetry.

417.

adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.

ambigitur quotiens uter utro sit prior, aufert

Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,

dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi, H.E.2.1.58

A grand verse-ending to mimic the veneration in which the old poets are held.

J(a) and (b)

418-9.

aspice, Plautus

quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi,

ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi, H.E.2.1.172

quantus sit Dossenus edacibus in parasitis H.E.2.1.173

Two grand verse-endings for Plautus, (see 417), the words chosen to come at the end of the verse, however, revealing the comic character of the poet.

J(d)

420.

ipse capillato diffusum consule potat

calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam. J.5.31

A sarcastically solemn reference to the 'good old days'. Note the humour of capillato consule, calcatam uvam.

J(d)

421. cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
 Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
 delevit multa veteris fuligine testae J.5.35

Like 420. The grandeur of the verse clashing with the sordid details of multa veteris fuligine testae.

422. haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius
 turbavit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos J.6.8

Juvenal is referring in a grand manner to an old poet; the loftiness of the verse clashes with the trivial subject-matter of the poem of Catullus. (See commentary).

423. stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit
 sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus? J.13.17

A grand line for the venerable old age of Calvinus.

424. audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
 iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles, P.1.124

A grand verse for Eupolis and Aristophanes, writers of Old Comedy, from which Satire traced its origin. Cf. 353.

- 425-6. agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati
 condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
 corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem ...
 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem H.E.2.1.145
 versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit, H.E.2.1.146

Grand verses for the birth of poetry. (Also fits into the category ROMAN FRUGALITY).

J(d)

427.

ego cur, acquirere pauca

si possum invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni

sermonem patrum ditaverit et nova rerum

nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit

signatum praesente nota producere nomen. H.AP.59

ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos

prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas,

et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.

A grand verse to mark out the practice based on old precedent;
note how Horace sustains the tone in the following simile
adapted - humorously - from Homer.

428.

carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum, H.AP.220

mox etiam agrestis satyros nudavit, et asper

A grand verse for tragedy - here, however, brought down to a
low level by this reference to its humble beginning.

K - OLD ROMAN VIRTUE

K(a)

429.

expectata diu tandem provincia cum te

rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,

pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum: J.8.89

This example would obviously fit into the category of NOBILITY,
and also of HIGH MORAL TONE. I place it here because I feel
that Juvenal is appealing to the traditional, and quite fictitious,
virtue of the Roman nobility in showing paternal concern for
the provincials. The verse-ending is mock-solemn, and if there
is still any doubt about this in this verse, the following, with
its incongruous image marks a clear bathos:

ossa vides rerum vacuis exucta medullis.

K(a)

430.

inquit sententia dia Catonis,
 'nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,
 huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas H.S.1.2.34
 permolere uxores'.

This could also fit into the category HIGH MORAL TONE. I put it here because it reflects the rude no-nonsense morality of Old Rome, as exemplified by Cato. Sententia dia contributes to this effect of archaism.

431.

num si
 ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
 continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
 non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
 H.S.1.2.119

Like 430.

432.

at est truculentior atque
 plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur. H.S.1.3.52
 A grand verse-ending for the kind of rude virtue associated with the Early Romans. Horace is also moralizing.

K(b)

433.

legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
 servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
 et procul a signis. 'iustissima centurionum J.16.17
 cognitio ...'

In a context where ancient military tradition is being mocked, the centurions represent the tough Roman soldier, the heir to a great Roman Military tradition. See the examples that follow; and for the humorous effect, note v.14, and the general context.

K(b)

434. hic aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum P.3.77
 dicat: "quod sapio satis est mihi, non ego curo
 esse quod Arcesilas aerumnosique Solones
 obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram ..."

The centurion, as in the preceding example, is the representative of the tough peasant Roman who has no time for these fashionable Greek philosophies. The centurions as well as the philosophers are being mocked here.

435. dixeris haec inter varicosos centuriones P.5.189
 continuo crassum ridet Pulfenius ingens
 et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.

Like 434.

436. sic me
 formabat puerum dictis; et sive iubebat
 ut facerem quid, 'habes auctorem quo facias hoc';
 unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat; H.S.1.4.123

Horace is referring with affectionate humour to the moral lessons of his father, whose concern was that his son should be true to the traditum ab antiquis morem, (v.117).

K(c)

437. de Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
 haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae
 necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
 qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani J.11.68
 asparagi, posito quos legit villica fuso.

Juvenal is giving a sarcastic description of a frugal meal, rustic, of the kind which the Romans of the old days might

K(c) have had. The many humorous details make the description
 437.
 contd. sarcastic. For montanus in Juvenal, see commentary on 6.5.

438.

adeo nulla uncia nobis

est eboris, nec tessellae nec calculus ex hac

materia, quin ipsa manubria cultellorum J.11.133

ossea.

Like 437.

439.

mox etiam fractis aetate ac punica passis

proelia vel Pyrrhum inmanem gladiosque Molossos

tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur

vulneribus; merces haec sanguinis atque laboris

nulli visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae J.14.165

curta fides patriae. saturabat glebula talis

patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat

uxor et infantes ludebant

I quote at length so that the sarcasm achieved by gross
 exaggeration can be appreciated. Juvenal is painting a
 sarcastic picture of the ideal rustic world of early Rome.

K(d)

440.

hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia saetae

promittunt atrocem animum, sed podice levi

caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae. J.2.13

Sarcasm directed at the old Romans, as the hairiness suggests,
 and the indirect reference to Cato. (See H.O.2.1.24). The
 example would also fit into the category RICHES AND LUXURY,
 see example 313.

K(d)

441. en habitum quo te leges ac iura ferentem
 vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud
 montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris. J.2.74

A caricature of the Old Rustic Romans. For montanus in Juvenal, see commentary on 6.5.

442. hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
 in tenuis plantas facili diffunditur haustu. J.3.227
 vive bidentis amans

A grand verse in an ironical picture of the frugal ideal rustic life.

443. saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
 auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros. J.3.322

An ironical conclusion to the third satire. The lover of the countryside, clad like a peasant, braves the cold to take part in the typically rustic occupation of ... reading satires.

444. maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne
 vomer deficiat, ne marra et sarcula desint.
 felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
 saecula quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
 viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam. J.3.314

A sarcastic criticism of the present and praise of the past, the rustic past outlined in lines 312-3, ending with a grand verse on a subject that will not bear such grand treatment, and which moreover contains a pun on contentam: all Rome content with one prison, and all Rome contained in one prison.

K(d)

445. praestabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas J.6.287
 quondam, nec vitiis contingi parva sinebant
 tecta labor somnique breves et vellere Tusco
 vexatae duraeque manus ac proximus urbi
 Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti.

A sarcastic picture of the good old days of Roman poverty.

See commentary.

446. et finem egressi legemque priorum
 grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu
 montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino? J.6.637

A high tone for the mimicked detestation of those Greek crimes which one would surely not expect to find in such a typically Italian and rustic, and therefore virtuous, setting.

447. Antonius, inde
 sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis J.8.106
 occulta spolia

A grand verse for the good old days when the provincials were rich, and a governor could really make a killing! This example would fit into the categories RICHES, SIZE AND QUANTITY, NOBILITY.

448. cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
 castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
 functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat
 erectum domito referens a monte ligonem. J.11.89

A sarcastic description of the rustic good old days, ending with a grand verse, containing a humorous tableau. For a monte see commentary on 6.5.

K(d)

449. sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
 vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli, J.11.97
 ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.

The spirit is the same as in 448; the grand verse containing a no less humorous picture.

450. magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,
 ut phaleris gauderet ecus caelataque cassis
 Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
 imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos
 ac nudam effigiem in clipeo venientis et hasta
 pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti. J.11.107

A heavily ironical praise of the good old days when the pure, uncorrupted, Roman soldier did not care much for all that Greek art, employing it for the only purpose which deserved such care, namely arms and armour. The description ends on a grand verse which tells us how the enemy of Rome dies as he looks in admiration at the museum-piece which the Roman soldier is wearing on his head. The description there borders on Epic parody, for the elaborate description of the helmet is a parody, surely, of the detailed description of armour which we find in Epic.

451. improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo, J.13.53
 credebant quo grande nefas et morte pium
 si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
 barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
 plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos.

A grand line to start a passage, full of heavy irony, in praise of the good old virtuous and rustic days.

K(d)

452.

tunicam mihi malo lupini

quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago

exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem. J.14.155

A grand verse openly derisory of the ideal of humble rusticity.

453-4.

o rus, quando te aspiciam? quandoque licebit

nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis

ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae. H.S.2.6.62

o quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque

uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo? 64

o noctes cenaque deum! quibus ipse meique

ante larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces

pasco libatis dapibus.

A lightly ironical passage referring playfully to Pythagorean beliefs, (see category PHILOSOPHY), the ideal of Roman rusticity (cf. 11.66-7 with the commentary on ignemque laremque, (13 of Satire 6) so commonly linked with the days of Rustic Rome.

455.

gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo H.E.1.7.58

et ludis et post decisa negotia Campo.

Reflecting the frugality of Vulteius Mena.

456.

agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati

condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo H.E.2.1.140

A grand verse for Early Roman Frugality. Also for the religious solemnity of the feast.

L - LEGAL TERMS

L(a)

457. cum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi J.1.55
ius nullum uxori

A legal term in testamentary contexts receives a grand verse-ending, clashing with the subject-matter.

458. mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
hic dabat: heredes monumentum ne sequeretur. H.S.1.8.13

Parody of legal style. Would also fit into the category of FUNERALS.

L(d)

459. signator falsi, qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda? J.1.68

Like 457.

460. publica lex hominum naturaue continet hoc fas
ut teneat vetitos inscitia debilis actus. P.5.99

The 'law' is enunciated in the grand style. It is, of course, an example of ironical exaggeration, as the unnecessarily convoluted language indicates. Persius is making fun of the earnest Stoic.

461. "sume tibi decies; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex
unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata". H.S.2.3.238

A grand verse for the prodigality shown in the will to the ... leno. Note the circumlocution in the grand style for leno.

M - DERISION

I have grouped under this heading all examples which do not fit into the other categories. These examples do not of themselves form another category, having only this in common, that they feature a grand verse or verse-ending which clashes with the subject-matter, whether it be an obscene or otherwise inappropriate matter, an episode of low life, or only a humorous picture, which one would not expect to find in 'grand' poetry. In most cases, the humour of the device is so obvious as not to require pointing out.

M(a)

462. si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
 qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluuienus. J.1.80
 Mocking Cluuienus, and at the same time cutting the grass from under the feet of his own indignant persona. It is surprising that the critics, while seeing the derisory nature of the second line of the couplet, have continued to regard with all seriousness Juvenal's facit indignatio versum.
463. hic Andro, ille Samo. hic Trallibus aut Alabandis J.3.70
464. non erit hac facie miserabilior Crepereius J.9.6
 Pollio
465. pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis, J.10.229
 ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
 suetus hiat tantum ceu pullus hirundinis
466. multae tibi tum officient res,
 custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae H.S.1.2.98
467. Davus sis comicus atque
 stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti. H.S.2.5.92
 Slave behaviour.
468. cum Servilio Balatrone H.S.2.8.21
 Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.

M(b)

469. ergo expectatos ac iussos crescere primum
testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres,
tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus. J.6.372

Grand verse denouncing a filthy Greek practice.

470. inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum. J.7.123
Scorn for these parasites! the noun denouncing them as
creatures of Greek origin.

471. discipuli custos praemordet accenonoetus. J.7.218
Like the preceding.

472. audiet et quae
finxerunt pariter libarius, archimagiri J.9.109
Again, Greek habits of soft and luxurious living, indicated by
the ending, and the Greek word.

473. praecipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum J.9.120
contemnas ...

This in a line which Clausen deletes, following Jachmann. The
use of the grand verse-ending seems, however, typically Juvenalian,
in an 'elevated' context.

474. quibus haec, sint qualiacumque H.S.1.10.88
arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
deterius nostra

Horace is being self-depreciating, but ambivalently so. The
grand verse-ending indicates that he feels that it is a sacred
duty he has to please his great friends, and they would no
doubt have appreciated the compliment. Cf. 39.

M(c)

475. possis ignavus haberi
 et subiti casus improvidus ad cenam si J.3.273
 intestatus eas ...

Bathos. Also LEGAL context.

476. quod enim dubitant componere crimen
 in dominos, quotiens rumoribus ulciscuntur J.9.111
 baltea

The vengeance of slaves.

M(d)

477. steriles moriuntur, et illis
 turgida non prodest condita pyxide lyde. J.2.141

Greek ending for a Greek vice.

478. Armenius Zalaces cunctis narratur ephebis J.2.164
 mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno.

As above.

479. quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
 siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
 et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta. J.3.33

A grand line for degenerate 'Romans'.

480. nec tamen haec tantum metuas; nam qui spoliet te
 non derit clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
 fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae. J.3.304

An epic-like piece of atmosphere building, on a trivial detail.

481. dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
 blandaue devexae iactaret basia raedae. J.4.118

A noble being compared to a beggar.

M(a)

482. tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sygambris
 dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
 anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna. J.4.149

An incongruous image, in an epic parody.

483. si moechorum notissimus olim
 stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro J.6.43

This, apart from being a humorous and ridiculous picture, is also possibly an example of parody, see commentary. Also mocks Religion, of marriage ceremony.

484. fiant obscuri dentes oculique minores J.6.145

485. quae nudis longum ostendit cervicibus + aurum+ J.6.589

See also commentary.

- 486-7 deformem pro cute pellem
 pendentisque genas et talis aspice rugas J.10.193
 quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
 in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca. 195

488. quem si revoces, subsistere nescit
 et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis J.14.232

The grand line containing a humorously exaggerated picture of the child as a horse running off from the course, carrying away the charioteer/father.

489. nigra sed infusa vanescit sepia lympa. P.3.13

The grand line mimics the tone of voice of the lazy satirist inflating beyond all measure every little contretemps to make it into an excuse for not working.

M(d)

490. discere non sano multum laudanda magistro,
 quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis. P.3.47

The pride which the father feels in the prowess of his son at declamation, expressed by the grand verse, clashing with the detail of the sweat.

491. tum immundo somnia visu
 nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum. H.S.1.5.85
492. non ego: nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
 contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit. H.S.1.10.77

This would fit at a pinch into the category of NOBILITY, as it mimics the tone of voice with which Arbuscula despises the judgment of the populus, only acknowledging that of the equites.

493. men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
 vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus
 Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli. H.S.1.10.80

APPENDIX IB

I have collected here all examples of grandis in Juvenal, in an attempt to show that the word is always used in mock-grand contexts. I have related these examples to the examples of Appendix IA by referring to the classifications used there, and by pointing out where the features examined in IA occur in or in close proximity to the passages excerpted here.

6.634-7:

fingimus haec altum satura sumente coturnum
 scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum
 grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,
 montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino.

Derisory of epic/tragedy (see commentary), and hinting in mockery at the traditional 'italianness' of the countryside (so linking with the theme of 'Roman Rusticity'). Note 636, 7, are on V A B B A pattern.

6.643-6:

credamus tragicis quidquid de Colchide torva
 dicitur et Proene; nil contra conor. et illae
 grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus

Mock-tragic tone, as above.

7.210-2:

metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
 cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
 eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri.

Mock-heroic tone for epic hero in non-epic circumstance.

12.126-7:

ergo vides quam
grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.

As above. Note also spondaic ending at l.121.

14.279-83:

sed longe Calpe relictā
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
inde domum possis tumidaque superbus aluta,
Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.

A mock-epic tone for the epic endeavours undertaken in search of wealth. Note V A B B A of l.280.

11.68-72:

qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis, et montani
asparagi, posito quos legit villica fuso.
grandia praeterea tortoque calentia feno
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae
parte anni quales fuerant in vitibus uvae

Mock-grand tone for Old Roman Frugality. Note montani, see commentary on 6.5; and - - - - of l.68, 71.

13.53-7:

inprobitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo,
credebant/^{quo} grande nefas et morte piandum
si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos;

Mock-grand tone for the venerable early days of Rome. Note the religious overtones of nefas, piandum. Also V A B B A in l.53.

14.169-72:

sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.

Deriding the good old days of Early Rome.

14.194-5:

sed caput intactum buxo narisque pilosas
adnotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas;

A humorous view of the typical and traditional Roman military virtues; the reference to Laelius contributing to the effect, Laelius being a Roman of the 'traditional' type.

16.13-7:

Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. 'iustissima centurionum ...'

The effect is the same as in the preceding example; the reference to the 'traditional' virtues is made explicit in l.15. Note - u u - - in l.17.

6.78-80:

longa per angustos figamus pulpita vicos,
ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro,
ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, conopeo

Mocking the religious solemnity of this marriage; also the nobility of Lentulus. Note V A B B A in 1.78; - - - - in 1.80.

6.515-8:

cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt
plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.
grande sonat, metuique iubet Septembris et Austri
adventum,

Mock-religious tone for the charlatan. Also, in Phrygia tiara deriding nobility (see commentary). Note V A B B A in 516.

9.50-3:

en cui tu viridem umbellam, cui sucina mittas
grandia, natalis quotiens redit aut madidum ver
incipit et strata positus longaue cathedra
munera femineis tractat secreta kalendis.

The tone is mock-solemn, for the religious atmosphere of the birthday and the Matronalia. Note V A B B A in 1.53.

12.13-5:

laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
iret et grandi cervix ferienda ministro
ob reditum trepidantis

Mock-religious tone for the sacrifice. Note V A B B A in 14; for lengthening of iret see Appendix IC, and Giangrande Eranos 63 (1965) 26-41.

13.147-9:

confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas;

Deriding religious solemnity and venerable old age. Note u u - - in 1.148.

6.302-3:

grandia quae mediis iam noctibus ostrea mordet,
cum perfusa mero apumant unguenta Falerno,

Mock-grand tone for Greek luxury. Note V A B B A in 1.302.

4.115-8:

grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque + a ponte+ satellites,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae.

Deriding the nobility of Catullus - ignoble in his actions; also mock-religious in grande monstrum.

6.153-60:

mense quidem brumae, cum iam mercator Iason
clausus et armatis obstat casa candida nautis,
grandia tolluntur crystallina, maxima rursus
murrina, deinde adamas notissimus et Beronices
in digito factus pretiosior. hunc dedit olim
barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges
et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis

Religion, Epic, Nobility, all reduced to commercial level in this passage. (See commentary). Note u u - - in l. 156; V A B B A in ll. 159, 160.

10.71-2:

'nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis'.

A solemn tone for the imperial letter. Also mocking its verbosity.

11.120-6:

at nunc divitibus cenandi nulla voluptas,
nil rhombus, nil damma sapit, putere videntur
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
et quos deposuit Nabataeo belua saltu

Mocking luxury. Also the epic theme of the Ethiopias. (See Appendix II).

6.167-9:

malo Venustinam quam te, Cornelia, mater
Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus adfers
grande supercilium et numeras in dote triumphos.

Mocking Cornelia's nobility, and her High Moral Standards. See commentary.

7.108-10:

ipsi magna sonant, sed tum cum creditor audit
praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.

Mocking the impressive tones of the advocate, and the impressive size of the ledger. Note V A B B A in 110.

APPENDIX ICLengthening of -at, -et, -it.A - In the Satires of Horace

1.4.81-5:

absentem qui rodit amicum,
 qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
 qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
 fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
 qui nequit; hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto."

High tone to express the solemn bonds of amicitia.

1.5.89-90:

sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
 callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator;

The reason for this lengthening is not apparent. But it may be an imitation of an epic circumlocution for the name of the township in question.

2.1.79-83:

'equidem nihil hinc diffingere possum.
 sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
 incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
 si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
 iudiciumque'.

Trebatius is speaking, and using archaic legal language.

2.3.187:

'ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?'

A mock-epic passage, imitating epic language and also legal mannerisms.

2.2.44-8:

necdum omnis abacta
 pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis
 nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. haud ita pridem
 Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
 infamis

An archaism, imitating the language of the time of Gallonius, who lived in the days of the younger Africanus. The archaic tone reflects the Old Style Virtue and Frugality

2.3.168-74:

Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
 antiquo censu, gnatis divisisse duobus
 fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
 ad lectum: 'postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
 ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
 te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem;
 extimui, ne vos ageret insania discors

Archaism in imitation of the solemn speech of a man on his death-bed, equivalent to his will.

2.3.259-62:

amator
 exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat, an non,
 quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
 invisus foribus?

A deliberate archaism in imitation of the language of the time of Terence, a scene from whose Eunuchus follows.

B - In Juvenal

3.172-6:

ipsa dierum
 festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
 maiestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
 exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
 in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,

Archaism in the description of a traditional religious festival.

With a tone of mockery.

12.12-6:

nec finitima nutritus in herba,
 laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
iret et grandi cervix ferienda ministro
 ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
 nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.

The passage is sacral in tone, lengthening occurring in a verse on the V A B B A pattern. See Giangrande, Eranos, 63 (1965) 26-41.

6.340:

intulerit

Mocking the religious occasion of the Bona Dea festival. Note the epic circumlocution for Clodius; and the - u u - - ending of Anticatones.

Appendix 2

ETHIOPIANS

by

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Extract from
The Classical Quarterly
Volume 20 No.2
November 1970
Clarendon Press . Oxford

ETHIOPIANS

I

HOMER spoke of

*Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἳ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἳ δ' ἀνιόντος* (Od. 1. 23-4).

It was natural and inevitable that his two Aethiopias, in the eastern and western extremities of the world, should be identified with the countries of the two dark-skinned peoples in the Far East and the Far West of the Ancient World: India and Mauretania.

There was the difficulty that the real Aethiopia was in Africa, neither in the Far East nor in the Far West. Serious writers on geography tried to reconcile Homer and the geographical facts.

I wish to excerpt from Strabo three theories concerning Aethiopia and the Aethiopians which will then be used to elucidate passages in Latin literature.

2

(i)

Strabo referred Homer's words to the Aethiopians proper. He separated *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν* from its context, and explained that it meant that the Aethiopians lived in the *southern* extremity of the world: for Aethiopia stretched from its northern border with Egypt southwards right down to Ocean. In that sense the Aethiopians were *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν*.

Aethiopia was divided by the Nile.¹ In that sense *διχθὰ δεδαίταται* was true. Some Aethiopians lived west of the Nile, some east of the Nile, and Aethiopia stretched along the whole of the southern limit of the world, from south-west to south-east—in that sense *οἳ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἳ δ' ἀνιόντος*.

So Strabo explained Homer without reference to peoples other than the Aethiopians proper (Str. 1. 2. 25, 27).

(ii)

That is Strabo's own solution. Strabo reports other explanations involving Mauretanians and Indians.

Posidonius placed the Eastern Aethiopians in India. Strabo does not state this explicitly, but in two passages where he is disputing Posidonius' theories he reveals the latter's opinion.

2. 3. 8. *Ὁμηρος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο διαρεῖ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ὅτι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἤδει τοιοῦτους τιὰς τοῖς σώμασιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν εἰδέναι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς εἰκὸς Ὁμηρον . . .).*

2. 3. 7 (Posidonius) *παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Αἰθίοπων*

¹ Strabo personally believed that Aethiopia was divided in two by the Arabian Gulf (1. 2. 28). But Aristarchus had stated that Homer did not know of the Arabian Gulf nor, consequently of the isthmus

between the Arabian Gulf and the Mediterranean. Strabo therefore here substitutes the Nile for the Arabian Gulf, to conduct the argument on Aristarchus' terms (1. 2. 24-5).

διαφέρειν τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. εὐρνεστέρους γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἥττον ἔψεσθαι τῇ
 ξηρασίᾳ τοῦ περιέχοντος. διὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον πάντας λέγοντα Αἰθίοπας δίχα διελεῖν

οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

The Western Aethiopians, according to Posidonius, were the Aethiopians proper. But the Aethiopians proper are not in the Far West. It is probably partly to remove this difficulty that Posidonius suggested the emendation to Homer's text

ἡμὲν ἀπερχομένου Ὑπερίονος

which means, according to Strabo, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ περικλίνοντος, 'where he declines from the meridian' (tr. Jones).

(iii)

Strabo also mentions the theory of Ephorus, who placed Homer's Western Aethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas, and along the shore.

Str. 1. 2. 26. λέγεσθαι γάρ φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ταρτεσσίων Αἰθίοπας τὴν Λιβύην
 ἐπελθόντας μέχρι Δύρεως (Mt. Atlas) τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς
 παραλίας κατασχεῖν πολλήν. τεκμαίρεται δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ Ὅμηρον εἰπεῖν
 οὕτως:

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.

How Ephorus explained the Aethiopians in the Far East Strabo does not say. Nor is it relevant to our purpose.

We have seen Aethiopians in Far East, Far West, and Far South—enough to explain erudite references in Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal.¹

3

(i)

The first passage of Virgil we look at is plain enough. I quote it here, with two parallels, to explain other passages of Virgil we shall examine subsequently:

Eclogues 10. 64-8 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores
 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus
 Sithoniasque niues hiemis subeamus aquosae,
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo
 Aethiopum uersemus oues sub sidere Cancri.

As editors point out, this is an imitation of Theocritus 7. 111-14:

εἷης δ' Ἡδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὥρεσι χεῖματι μέσσω
 Ἔβρον παρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν Ἄρκτω,
 ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιόπεσσι νομεύοις
 πέτρα ὕπο Βλεμύνων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὁρατός.

¹ For Aethiopians in Far West see A. fr. 192 (Nauck); in Far East, Eur. fr. 177 (Nauck). Herodotus 7. 70 has two kinds of Aethiopians: those ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου and those ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων. Dict. Cret. 4. 4 says

that Memnon's army at Troy was made up of Aethiopians and Indians. For Aethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas, see Plin. *H.N.* 6. 199, Isid. *Orig.* 14. 5. 16.

Cf. Pindar *I.* 6. 22-3:

μυρία δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέ-
τμανθ' ἑκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶ κέλευθοι,
καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγᾶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους.

Virgil, like Strabo (2 (i) above), here places the Ethiopians in the Far South. Theocritus and Pindar associate that region of the world with the source or upper reaches of the Nile.

(ii)

Now for Western Ethiopians in Virgil:

Aeneid 4. 480-2 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

Virgil's placing of the Ethiopians is here in agreement with the more natural interpretation of Homer. Like Ephorus (2 (iii)) he places Homer's Western Ethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas.

(iii)

In the last passage, the reference to Ethiopians was explicit. In the following, the reference is oblique.

Fama has come to Iarbas telling him that Dido and Aeneas have been helping each other to keep the winter warm. Iarbas, jealous, prays to his father Juppiter:

Aeneid 4. 206-8 Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
 aspicis haec?

nunc has exercised the ingenuity of editors. The explanation generally favoured is Henry's (*Aeneidea* 2. 658) that *nunc* means 'now that I have inaugurated your cult in my country', referring to lines 199-200. That explanation involves one difficulty: Iarbas is nowhere said by Virgil to belong to *Maurusia gens*. He is born of a Garamantian nymph (198), and a Gaetulian (326). Editors realize that there is this difficulty, and (e.g. Pease, Benoist) have to extend *Maurusia* to include other parts of Africa. The difficulty disappears and *nunc* finds a natural explanation once we realize that Virgil is referring to a Homeric theme: *Maurusia* is Mauretania, the land of the Western Ethiopians. *nunc* means that at the moment when Iarbas is praying, Juppiter is in Mauretania—the reference being to the common Homeric motif of the gods being present at banquets among the Ethiopians; a motif imitated in Latin literature by Statius (*Silv.* 4. 2. 53, *Theb.* 5. 427-8).

A sceptic objects: 'Surely *Lenaeum libat honorem* means that the Mauretanians are pouring a libation in honour of Juppiter (see Pease ad loc.). Are they pouring a libation to him in his presence?'

I refer my sceptic to the passage of Homer part of which we have already looked at:

Od. 1. 22-6 Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (Poseidon) Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἑόντας,
 Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίωνος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος,

ἀντιόων ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνειῶν ἐκατόμβης.
ἐνθ' ὃ γε τέρπετο δαιτὶ παρήμενος.

If Poseidon has a hecatomb sacrificed to him in his presence, is that not a good reason why Juppiter should have a libation poured to him in his presence?

This explanation of *nunc* has the further advantage that it sets the scene of the subsequent conversation between Juppiter and Mercury in Mauretania. Otherwise it must be assumed that the conversation takes place in an unspecified region, in the abode of the gods. Editors have assumed this, and pointed out two difficulties arising from that assumption:

(a) Hearing Iarbas' prayer, Juppiter decides to take action against Dido and Aeneas. He calls Mercury and says:

Aeneid 4. 223-4 vade age, nate, uoca Zephyros et labere pennis
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine . . .

Why should Mercury call the Zephyrs? Servius asked the question: Pease (ad loc.) offers a fair sample of answers.

The run of the sense clearly suggests that the Zephyrs are to help Mercury *labere pennis*. And if he is going from Mauretania to Carthage, are the Zephyrs not the most suitable winds to waft him along with all speed?

(b) At 246, Mercury, soon after he sets off (*iamque*), arrives at Mt. Atlas. Again Pease (ad 227) notes that Mercury, going presumably from Olympus (cf. 268)¹ to Carthage, goes via Mt. Atlas. He fails to give a satisfactory explanation for this. But if Mercury is in fact coming from Mauretania, the land of the Western Aethiopians, it is natural that he should come to Mt. Atlas on his way.

All this is seen most clearly if we compare the Virgil with its Homeric model, of which it is a very close imitation:

Od. 5. 43-53

Ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης.
αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἔφ' ὑγρὴν
ἡδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἄμα πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο.
εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
ὣν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνῶντας ἐγείρει.
τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης.
Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντω·
σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῦμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,
ὃς τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ὅλος ἀτρυγέτοιο
ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἄλμῃ.

Mercury's obedience is in Virgil; his sandals and their function; his rod and its functions; and the simile. There is one glaring difference in subject-matter, and it is a significant one: in Homer, Hermes comes from Olympus, down to Pieria, then over the sea like a bird. In Virgil Mercury comes from wherever his conversation with Juppiter took place, *arrives at* Mt. Atlas, then swoops down from it, over the sea like a bird. We can see that the Homeric passage has

¹ 268 means only that Mercury has come from gods to men. His words are meant to impress Aeneas with the importance of his

visit. They should not be pressed literally, as by Pease.

been manipulated so as to fit in with the change of scene: as there was a mountain in Homer, Mt. Olympus, the abode of the gods, Virgil wanted a mountain too. In Homer, the mountain was Hermes' point of departure, the scene of his conversation with Zeus. But as Virgil had set the scene of the conversation between Jupiter and Mercury, and consequently Mercury's point of departure, at a banquet among the Mauretanians/Aethiopians, Mercury had to be made to *arrive at* a mountain on his way; Mt. Atlas was the obvious choice. Its association with Aethiopians (see 3 (ii)) would provide a clue to the reader. Moreover it is in Mauretania/Aethiopia itself: so that, if it cannot be the actual point of departure of Mercury like Homer's Olympus, it is at least very near to his point of departure: '*iamque uolans apicem et latera ardua cernit . . .*'

There is another difference between Homer and Virgil, less striking but equally significant: Virgil's *uoca Zephyros* has no counterpart in Homer.

(iv)

Now for the Aethiopians of India, or rather, by a Virgilian twist, for the Indians of Aethiopia.

Aeneid 6. 792-7 Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua
Saturno quondam; super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque uias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

There are two difficulties here:

(a) Indians fit ill in this context of *post euentum* prophecies. Augustus never conquered Indian territory.

(b) The run of the sense: 'he will extend his empire over Garamantes and Indians; the land lies beyond the stars . . .' seems to indicate that it is the land of the Garamantes and Indians which lies beyond the stars.

Editors have disregarded the run of the sense, and difficulty (b), by seeing a reference to three lands: that of the Garamantes, that of the Indians, and that which is beyond the stars. They have then solved (a) by saying that 'Indians' is a vague word for 'Parthians', and that Virgil is referring to the recovery of the standards from the Parthians (see Heyne, Benoist, Conington). Fletcher sees that this explanation of 794-5 is unnatural, but confesses his helplessness in his note ad 795: 'The connexion between the two halves of this line is obscure, and we get the impression of an unrevised passage where something would have been filled in later. The "land outside the stars and the courses of the sun and of the year" (i.e. beyond the Zodiac) is apparently meant to describe the districts beyond the Garamantes and India which the empire will reach.'

But a solution is not impossible along the following lines:¹

Augustus' *imperium* will extend over Garamantes and Indians, a land that lies beyond the stars; as the Garamantes are an African tribe, we may already suspect, since Garamantes and Indians belong to one land—*iacet extra sidera tellus*—that the Indians Virgil talks of are also to be found in Africa. And if we know that Homer's Eastern Aethiopians were located in India (2 (ii) above), we may also suspect that Virgil's 'Indians' are Aethiopians. Those suspicions

¹ E. Norden, 'Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus', *Rh. Mus.* liv (1899), 470-2, explains this passage with reference to the Ethiopians. He is mistaken in details.

are increased by the knowledge that the armies of Augustus, if they never penetrated Indian territory, did fight a victorious campaign against Queen Candace of the Aethiopians, advancing as far as Napata, which they captured and rased (Strabo 17. 1. 54). This victory is also celebrated by Propertius (4. 6. 78), and commentaries refer to it.

Virgil now confirms our suspicions by giving two indications of where this land of the Garamantes and Indians is situated,

(a) *iacet extra sidera tellus, / extra anni solisque uias*, i.e. beyond the Zodiac. Servius refers to Lucan 3. 253-5:

*Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso
ultima curuati procederet ungula Tauri.*

Housman explains the astronomical error involved in both passages on pp. 327-9 of his edition of Lucan, in the astronomical appendix.

The description in Virgil and Lucan fits a land in the Far South. Virgil (3 (i) above) refers to the Aethiopians as a people of the Far South. That fact, in addition to the parallel with Lucan, who is referring explicitly to Aethiopia, shows that Virgil is here referring to Aethiopia.

(b) Lucan was not the only one to imitate this passage of Virgil. Housman in *CR* xx (1906), 44 compares it also with Statius *Silu.* 4. 3. 153-7, which he rightly considers to be a direct imitation of Virgil:

*iuravit tibi iam niualis Arctus,
nunc magnos Oriens dabit triumphos.
ibis qua uagus Hercules et Euhan
ultra sidera flammeumque solem
et Nili caput et niues Atlantis.*

Housman points out that Statius, like Virgil, seems to place Mt. Atlas much further south than it is, and he calls that poetic licence. But it is not pointless licence. Virgil and Statius are playing with the notion that Mauretania, where Mt. Atlas is, is traditionally the home of Aethiopians; and so, disregarding geography, as poets may, they transfer Mt. Atlas from Mauretania, *an* 'Aethiopia', to Aethiopia proper.

By comparing the reference to the source of the Nile in Statius with the passages of Theocritus and Pindar in 3 (i) above, we see that Statius has Aethiopia in mind.

We also note that *Aen.* 6. 797 is a repetition of *Aen.* 4. 472 (quoted in 3 (ii)), where Virgil is explicitly talking of Aethiopians.

So three sets of Aethiopians are involved in this passage of Virgil: he is talking about the *Aethiopians proper*; he calls them *Indians*; and locates them by a reference to Mt. Atlas in *Mauretania*.

(v)

We find in the *Georgics* another passage where Virgil calls the Aethiopians proper 'Indians'. Virgil is giving the limits of Egypt, west, east, north, and south:¹

Georgics 4. 287-93 *nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
 accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
 et circum pictis uehitur sua rura phaelis,*

¹ See Benoist ad loc. for this. Transposition is unnecessary.

quaque pharetratae uicinia Persidis urget
 et uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena
 et diuersa ruens septem discurrit in ora
 usque coloratis amnis deuexus ab Indis . . .

We saw in 3 (i) that Virgil placed the Aethiopians in the southern extremity of the world. We saw that Pindar and Theocritus, quoted there, associated that region of the world with the sources of the Nile, as did Statius, quoted in 3 (iv). We also know that the country bordering on Egypt to the south is Aethiopia. All this, in addition to the passage of Virgil discussed in 3 (iv) makes it quite clear that by 'Indians' Virgil means 'Aethiopians'.

Virgil is generous and gives us one verbal clue: he calls his Indians 'coloratis'. The word is not simply descriptive. It contains a reference to the commonly accepted etymology of *Αἰθίοψ*.

Virgil is being erudite. Conington is puzzled by his reference to Indians and writes ad loc.: '“Indis”, apparently the Aethiopians, unless we are to extend Virgil's geographical untrustworthiness further.' J. André¹ believes that Virgil makes a mistake. E. de Saint-Denis² sees a reference here to the Pygmies. And R. de Ravinel³ would excise a line and have us think of the Indus.

(vi)

Before we leave Virgil, let us consider a last passage of the *Georgics*, where decision is impossible, but where, after what we have seen of his practice, certain coincidences may be significant:

Georgics 2. 116-21 diuisae arboribus patriae. sola India nigrum
 fert hebenum, solis est turea uirga Sabacis.
 quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno
 balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?
 120 quid nemora Aethiopum molli canentia lana,
 uelleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?

Taking the cotton-tree of the Aethiopians first (120): Aristobulus (in Str. 15. 1. 21), Eratosthenes (in Str. 15. 1. 20), Nearchus (in Str. 15. 1. 20, and Arr. *Ind.* 16. 1), Theophrastus (*H.P.* 4. 7. 7 and 4. 4. 8), Pliny (*H.N.* 12. 25), and Herodotus (3. 106) all speak of the cotton-tree as growing in India. Pliny (*H.N.* 13. 90) refers to the cotton-trees of Aethiopia. Pliny (cf. *H.N.* 12. 38 and 19. 14) says that a plant called *gossypion*, which is probably the cotton-tree, grows in Arabia and Egypt. Pollux (7. 75) talks of cotton-trees growing in Egypt. The same is implied by Herodotus 3. 47. It is impossible on this evidence to be certain whether Virgil really meant that cotton-trees grew in the region of Aethiopia, Egypt, and Arabia, and is being poetically imprecise by calling the whole region 'Aethiopia', or whether his 'Aethiopians' are in fact meant to include the Indians, who are 'Aethiopians' too.

Now for the ebony which 'only India' produces (116). Pliny (*H.N.* 12. 17) repeats Virgil. He expresses his doubts, and refers to Herodotus (3. 97) who talks of ebony in Aethiopia. Strabo (17. 2. 2) says that ebony is one of the trees

¹ 'Virgile et les Indiens', *RÉL.* xxvii *RÉL.* xxviii (1950), 204-9.
 (1949), 157-63.

² 'Notes sur le livre iv des *Georgiques*', *RÉL.* xxxix (1961), 94-7.

³ 'A propos du livre iv des *Georgiques*'.

the rising and the setting sun. The gods, like Poseidon in Hom. *Od.* 1. 22-4, are visiting

*Αἰθίοπας . . . τηλόθ' ἑόντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος—*

i.e. the Ethiopians, who live in the Far East and the Far West, and are 'reddened' by the rising and the setting sun.

(iii)

Stat. *Theb.* 10. 84-6 stat super occiduæ nebulosa cubilia noctis
Aethiopasque alios, nulli penetrabilis astro,
lucus iners . . .

Statius can take it for granted that when he talks of the Western Ethiopians as the 'other' Ethiopians, his audience will understand what he means: that they are 'other' than the Ethiopians of the East, near the rising sun. Mozley's note in the Loeb edition ('The Ethiopians of the Far West; they were usually spoken of as being in the East or South') obscures this very clear point.

(iv)

Four passages of Juvenal contain references to Ethiopians.

Before we look at the first one, a quotation from Seneca will indicate that the Eastern and Western Ethiopians were used quasi-proverbially to mark the ends of the world:

Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 37-40 qua sol reducens quaque deponens diem
 binos propinqua tinguunt Aethiopus face,
 indomita uirtus colitur et toto deus
 narratur orbe.

(Notice also *tingunt*. Cf. *coloratus* and *concolor* of Virgil and Lucan.)

We now look at Juvenal 6. 336-8, where the satirist is talking of the wide-spread scandal of the Bona Dea affair:

sed omnes
nouerunt Mauri atque Indi quae psalteria penem
maiores quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatores . . .

In other words, Clodius' fame, like Hercules', has reached the two Ethiopias in Far West and Far East, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.

Apuleius (*Met.* 1. 8) refers to the same eastern and western limits of the world: 'nam ut se ament efflictim non modo incolae uerum etiam Indi uel Aethiopes utrique uel ipsi Antichthones, folia sunt artis et nugae merae . . .', where the presence of 'Indi' in close proximity to 'Aethiopes utrique' is not fortuitous; 'Indi' are Eastern Ethiopians and Apuleius means: 'not only the people here but even the people in the Far East (Indi), or even the people in the Far East and the Far West (*Aethiopes utrique*), or even the people on the other side of the world'. The presence of 'Indi' and the fact that the two Ethiopias represent the limits of the world make it obvious that Apuleius is thinking of the two Homeric Ethiopias in Far East and Far West, and not of the Ethiopians in southern Africa, as the note ad loc. in the Budé edition would indicate.

(v)

Elephants now come to complicate matters. The ancients knew that there were elephants in Africa and in India. In Africa, they were found not only in Aethiopia, but also in Mauretania (cf. Sil. 9. 620; Plin. *H.N.* 8. 32). By a coincidence, then, there were Aethiopians and elephants in Mauretania, Aethiopia, India. Juvenal uses this coincidence humorously, in three passages; in 11. 123-6 he enumerates the places from which ivory comes to Rome:

grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus
et quos deposuit Nabataeo¹ belua saltu.

Syene was a Roman outpost and probably the centre of the ivory trade with Aethiopia. From the real Aethiopia, the satirist passes to the two fictitious Aethiopias in Far West and Far East: *Mauri* . . . *Indus*, with *obscurior* playing its now familiar part.

(vi)

Juvenal 12. 102-5 quatenus hic non sunt nec uenales elephantī,
 nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
 belua concipitur, sed furua gente petita
 arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro . . .

Ruperti ad loc. rightly explains that *furua gente* means 'ab Indis, Mauris, Aethiopibus', and refers the reader to 11. 125-6.

But why the singular *gente*? Because Indians, Mauretanians, Aethiopians are all one nation: *furua gens* = Aethiopes.

(vii)

More Aethiopian elephants in 10. 148-50:

hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos.

'This is the man whom Africa cannot contain, Africa beaten by the Mauretanian ocean [in the west] and stretching to the warm Nile [in the east] right back [i.e. southwards] to the Aethiopians' tribes and other . . . elephants.'

The force of *alios* would be felt with *populos* as well as with *elephantos* in the Latin. It is postponed so as to make the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* more striking: other poets had made erudite references to 'other Aethiopians' (see 4 (iii)). Juvenal makes fun of this erudition of epic poets by referring to 'other elephants'. And the 'other elephants of the Aethiopians', after Mauretania had been mentioned in 148, would inevitably suggest to a Roman audience 'Indian elephants'.

The sceptic objects: 'since there are elephants and Aethiopians in Mauretania and in Aethiopia, why can "other elephants" not simply mean "other than the Mauretanian ones"?'

My reply is that Juvenal does mean the Aethiopian elephants, i.e. the elephants of Aethiopia proper, but that he refers to them in such a way as to suggest, humorously, that the elephants of Aethiopia proper are Indian elephants.

¹ i.e. around Napata in Ethiopia (so (as most editors). For the spelling, cf. *Res* Pearson and Strong), not in Arabia Petraea *Gestae Divi Augusti* 26.

There are four reasons for preferring this more complicated explanation:

(a) *alios elephantos* carries the suggestion 'elephants of a different kind', and although there were elephants in Mauretania and Aethiopia, they were of the same type, whereas the Indian elephant was of a different type, and the Romans were aware of this: see Plin. *H.N.* 8. 32; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *elephas*.

(b) Juvenal's audience would be so used to the 'two Aethiopias' that they would immediately sense that Juvenal was referring to this theme. There are enough clues: *Mauro*, *Aethiopum*, the Nile. Once they had sensed the learned reference, they would think of the Homeric, and by now traditional, location of the two Aethiopias, in Far West and Far East. For that is the natural location of the Aethiopians considered as a pair.

(c) is really a corollary of (b). *Maurus* and *Indus* belong together in Aethiopian contexts. They form a pair. We saw this in Lucan. We saw it in two passages of Juvenal himself. Here too *Mauro*—and Juvenal uses the rare appellation instead of the more usual *Atlanticus*—would prepare the audience for its counterpart *Indus*, which would never come but which they would supply mentally.

(d) the audience knew that there were elephants in Mauretania and in Aethiopia. But when they came to *alios*, for the reasons suggested in (a), (b), and (c), they would think of *Indian* elephants. Consequently there would be a mental pause while they asked themselves: 'Is Juvenal suggesting that the elephants of Aethiopia are Indian?'

Having received the traditional Roman education, they would thereupon be reminded of a passage of the *Georgics* (4. 287-93 quoted in 3 (v) above) which would confirm their suspicions; for they would realize that Juvenal was giving a parody of it.

That Juvenal expected his audience to be familiar with Virgil is well known.¹ That he expected them to know this particular passage is shown by the humorous reminiscence of a line of it in Satire 15, pointed out by Gehlen.²

As Virgil is giving the boundaries of Egypt, so Juvenal here is giving the boundaries of Africa. The Nile is a conspicuous feature in both passages. Virgil says 'Indians' meaning 'Aethiopians'. Juvenal says 'Aethiopian', suggesting 'Indian'. Virgil says that going up the Nile one comes to India. Juvenal jokingly suggests that going south along the Nile one comes to the country of Indian elephants. Virgil had referred to the Aethiopians proper as 'Indians'. Juvenal refers to the elephants of Aethiopia proper as 'Aethiopian' indeed, but in such a context as to suggest that they are Indian.³

Juvenal's excessive subtlety is a sardonic comment on Virgil's. The satirist's irony is the pin applied to the swelling bombast of Roman Epic erudition. Juvenal's audience saw the joke; but we cannot say, as they could, 'et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus'.⁴

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¹ Cf. Gehlen, *De Iuvenale Vergilii Imitatore* (Erlangen, 1886); Scott, 'The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal', *Smith College Classical Studies*, viii (1927); Highet, 'Juvenal's Bookcase', *AJP* lxxii (1951), 369 f.

² *Georgics* 4. 289, *Juv.* 15. 127-8.

³ 10. 150 has been discussed recently by: E. Laughton, 'Juvenal's other elephants',

CR vi (1956), 201; J. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Juvenal's other elephants once again', *Mnem.* iv. 11 (1958), 159; R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* lii (1962), 236.

⁴ I should like to thank Mr. F. J. Cairns, Professor D. A. West, Professor I. M. Campbell, and Dr. P. G. Walsh for their help.

Epilogue

Anybody who has had the patience to read through the commentary and its appendices must realize what kind of author I conceive Juvenal to be: a humorous writer whose light-hearted wit stems from close familiarity with literature and literary themes; from a facility for punning and other forms of word-manipulation; from intellectual liveliness and playfulness. All this the reader must have realized. I feel compelled to add what I do not find in Juvenal: no saeva indignatio; no moral fervour. On the contrary, these two attitudes and states of mind are consistently mocked. The Sixth Satire does not attack women seriously; it only pretends to do so; its author does not seriously attack women's sexual and moral turpitude; he delights in the light-hearted treatment of such turpitude. Only a man entirely insensitive to Juvenal's wit would even think of looking in this satire for "Juvenal's own attitude to sex"; and only a man with his eyes shut would actually find in it evidence to support a belief that "Juvenal had begun his life with normal instincts, and had been so disgusted by women that he turned to active homosexuality". Any suggestion that "after coming up to Rome from his country town, he had an unhappy experience with the proud and selfish Roman Ladies" would owe more to an affinity with Hollywood's treatment of antiquity than with an understanding of this satire; and when I read such suggestions and expressions of such beliefs it is I who am "shaken by gusts of indignation and buffeted by gales of savage laughter".

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